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ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

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TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

A TABLE OF CHRONOLOGY,

AND

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF ANCIENT AND MODERN GEOGRAPHY.

b.2084

ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS.

THE TENTH EDITION,

CORRECTED, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,

BY EDWARD NARES, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

qqq a 46

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TO

THE TENTH EDITION.

When it was proposed in the year 1825 to publish a new edition of the Elements of General History, subject to some alterations and additions, care was taken to inform the public, by reference to the learned author's own advertisement to his second edition, that no other alterations or additions would be ventured upon, in regard to the original publication, than such as were entirely consistent with the Professor's own plan of revisal, who had acknowledged that in his second edition "several errors had been corrected, a few omissions supplied, and some amplifications made in the text where they seemed necessary for the better illustration of the subject."

For the purposes of the present edition, a similar revisal has taken place, and alterations made exactly upon the same principles; a few

previously undetected errors have been corrected, omissions supplied, and the very compressed text of the original further amplified; but not without the most apparent necessity. As an instance of such emendations, the following may reasonably be adduced in proof of the necessity to which we allude. In the Professor's text, the following passage occurs in his second volume, Sect. XXIV., purporting to be a sketch of the history of England in the fourteenth century: — "Edward [III.] fitted out an immense armament by sea and land; and, obtaining a signal victory over the French fleet, landed on the coast of Normandy, and with his son the Black Prince ran a career of the most glorious exploits." None of these facts are to be disputed, had they happened so near together as the very concise style of the learned Professor would seem to imply; but, in truth, six years intervened between the victory at sea of which he speaks and the landing in *Normandy*. It was in Flanders they landed after that victory, which, by a very trifling amplification in the present edition, is now made plain, the facts remaining as they were. Such emendations have chiefly been found necessary in the historical narrative. The sections containing what the author calls *Reflections*, on

particular periods, different governments, the progress of arts and sciences, &c. have in general required no correction whatever, though they have admitted occasionally of some additions.

As it has been judged right to reprint the Chronological Table, in this tenth edition, as the author left it, or as it has appeared in former editions, some remarks upon the particular subject of chronology may at this time be judged proper and expedient.

The Tables of Usher and Petavius have so long been adopted as the standards in chronology by the Protestant and Romish churches, that to depart from them without the universal consent of the learned might be rash, if not impertinent, in an elementary work like the present. Yet that some important changes may be anticipated, as likely in time to take place, ought not perhaps any longer to be concealed from the reader: some affecting both sacred and profane History, and some applying very particularly to the classical studies of youth. Two works of the above description particularly require to be noticed, new editions of both having appeared since the last republication of the *Elements of History*: we allude to Dr. Hales's very curious and elaborate Analysis of Chronology

and Geography, History and Prophecy, second edition, 1830, London; and Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, or civil and literary Chronology of Greece, from the LVth to the CXXIVth Olympiad, a second edition of which, from the Clarendon press, appeared in the year 1827.

It would be scarcely possible to do justice to the learning displayed in these two works, though the one embraces a much larger sphere of observation and enquiry than the other; but it cannot be disputed that both claim, in no common degree, the attention of all lovers of antiquity, and of all who are seriously interested in the investigation of truth.

It will of course be admitted that any corrections of sacred Chronology may be of incalculable importance, if found sufficient to check the clamours of infidels, or stifle the mockery of superficial sciolists; and, we may assuredly add, to answer the more laboured arguments of Jewish cavillers; to which end, no doubt, Dr. Hales's work will be found to contribute largely, whether the result of his labours be generally adopted or not; for with regard to sacred chronology, he has at all events amply shown, that if the *received* chronology of the *Bible* be insufficient, as some have pretended, to leave room for the

facts recorded in Scripture, we are by no means bound to abide by a computation so contracted; that much larger and wider computations have from the earliest periods existed, to which we have only to revert to obtain scope enough for all the transactions that have been questioned, and for all the facts to which the Holy Scriptures bear testimony; that if, in fact, the Jewish computations occasion any embarrassments in their present state, we may derive help, altogether as venerable and respectable, from the uncorrupted Greek version of the Seventy, the writings and dates of Josephus rectified and cleared from errors, and the works of Theophilus of Antioch the first Christian chronologer; help of no mean importance, but adding as much at least, when duly rescued from corruptions either accidental or designed, as one thousand four hundred and seven years to the date of the *Creation.*

When it is considered that the authorities compared, and brought as it were into competition, upon a subject of such importance as the æra of the creation, and including therefore the whole history of man previous to the Christian æra, are no other than the Hebrew Masorete, and Samaritan texts, the Septuagint, the writings of the great Jewish historian and antiquary Jose-

phus, and of that very ancient father of the church, Theophilus of Antioch, it may reasonably excite some surprise that any variation so great as has been mentioned could possibly have taken place, especially considering the generally established credit of the Jews for preserving their Scriptures immaculate; but to lessen such surprise, the learned author of the Analysis has been careful to show not only that in the estimation of most able and learned antiquaries, *Usher* himself not excepted, the Hebrew Scriptures have been judged liable, like other ancient writings, to accidental errors and variations, but that in truth some or all of the authorities mentioned have been subjected to deliberate adulteration or falsification by the Jews of later times, in order to invalidate the testimonies concerning our Saviour. The fact indeed appears, from Dr. Hales's able researches, to have been so regularly brought home to *Aquila* in particular, successively Pagan, Christian, and Jew, the author of a Greek version expressly designed to supersede that of the LXXII. interpreters, as to leave little room for further doubt. He stands, indeed, regularly charged by *Epiphanius* with having wrested the Hebrew Scriptures, contrary to the interpretation of the Septuagint version, on purpose to invalidate

the testimonies concerning Christ. It is also positively asserted in a Greek tract in the Bodleian library, inspected by *Kennicot*, and cited by Dr. Hales, that "*Aquila* being filled with much rage, and imagining mischiefs in his heart, was transported by an unjust envy, and anathematizing Christianity, became a Jew; and having assiduously learned the power of the Hebrew elements, and being superficially instructed in the Hebrew tongue, he interpreted Scripture, *wishing to conceal the testimonies concerning Christ.* Whenever, therefore, you find in the *Hebrew* (for even there also he obliterated), or in the *Greek*, the testimonies concerning CHRIST, *disguised*, know that it was the insidious contrivance of *Aquila.*"

Aquila, it may be observed, was but the pupil of a more malignant adversary of Christianity, *Akiba*, the patron or promoter of the *Seder Olam Rabba*, or *curtailed* system of Jewish Chronology, fabricated by Rabbi Josi, which appeared about A. D. 130.

Of such corruptions the student of ancient history ought at least to be apprised; especially as Justin Martyr and Irenæus, two of the oldest fathers of the Church, bear testimony to similar corruptions and mutilations, and for precisely the same purposes.

As in the opinion of Dr. Hales, and of other chronologers of the highest name and repute, the Scripture chronology ought to be made the standard of all other dates and computations, its purity cannot be too much attended to; and it is therefore well to know that an author has been found so competent as Dr. Hales, to remove embarrassments, explain difficulties, and investigate the many different systems that have prevailed.

As dates, and not facts, however, are the principal points in dispute, we are not certain that the time is yet arrived for entering upon such extensive alterations as might bring Professor Tytler's original Chronological Table nearer to the truth. It is therefore, with a few corrections only, reprinted in the present edition, leaving it to the reader or student to consult for himself such works as may throw more light upon the subject, and particularly Dr. Hales's very elaborate discussions in his analysis. It is not amiss, however, to observe, that both Usher and Petavius were probably only restrained from making greater alterations through a fear of innovating, and too implicit a confidence in the Hebrew verity. Vossius has the credit of being the first to reject the Jewish chronology. Mr. Clinton's *Fasti*

Hellenici is comparatively of a very limited nature, but not less deserving the notice and attention of every diligent student or classical scholar. The precise limits of Mr. Clinton's researches have been already mentioned, as beginning with the LVth and ending with the CXXIVth Olympiad, or from about 560. to about 280 B. C., illustrated by tables divided into four columns,—one assigned to the archons of Athens; a second to the civil and military affairs; a third to the philosophers, historians, and orators; and a fourth to the poets, of each distinct period, or years before Christ, marked by the side of the first column. To prove the importance of this profoundly learned work, we cannot do better than copy the author's own account of the motive and objects of his enquiries.

"In the work now offered to the public, the author has attempted to illustrate the civil and literary history of ancient Greece, from the age of Pisistratus to the accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by exhibiting a chronological view not only of the civil and military affairs of the Greeks, but also of their literature within that period. The authorities upon which each fact is stated are expressed, and the original words of the author

are given, as far as the necessary brevity would allow.

"The first idea of this work suggested itself to the author many years ago, when he found the want of a sufficient chronological guide while engaged in studying the works of the ancient writers. The remains of the orators, and of the comic poets, to be rightly understood, must be read in the order in which they were composed or exhibited, and with a reference to the transactions with which they were connected. The ancient critics of the best times were diligent in their attention to this particular. Apollodorus and Dionysius carefully marked the dates of literary works; but the grammarians of later ages, from whose hands we have received the relics of antiquity, so much neglected this necessary point, that no copy of Aristophanes now exists that has the comedies disposed in the order in which they were exhibited; nor any copy of Demosthenes in which the harangues and public causes are placed with any regard to the order of time."

This account is surely sufficient to evince the importance of Mr. Clinton's learned researches; and we may safely refer to the work itself, to prove that greater pains could not possibly have

been bestowed on an undertaking of such deep erudition. It is so likely to become a standard of chronology for the period to which it refers, that not to point it out as a work of almost indispensable reference would be, as we think, to depart from the great end and design of the Elements of History. Without, however, attempting, even in this case, to alter the Table of the Professor, we shall content ourselves with marking by asterisks the exact portion of ancient history to which Mr. Clinton's lucubrations apply. It should however be observed, perhaps, that it is not altogether for the sake of *correction* that we would recommend the class student to consult the Tables of Mr. Clinton, for many of the old dates are confirmed by his elaborate researches, and even where correction is necessary, the difference is often not of more than one year; but because the whole work is one of such very curious investigation, as to deserve particular notice, as connected with ancient history.

Having alluded to the new date of the creation as fixed by Dr. Hales, we shall subjoin his own key to the right understanding of the plan upon which his work is constructed, following the great chronological principle, *à certioribus temporibus ad incertiora progrediendum.*

"The leading and elementary date, by reference to which the whole range of sacred and profane chronology has been adjusted, is the birth of Cyrus, B. C. 599, which led to his accession to the throne of Persia, B. C. 559; of Media, B. C. 551, and of Babylonia, B. C. 536; for from these several dates, carefully and critically ascertained and verified, the several respective chronologies of these kingdoms branched off, and from the last especially, the destruction of Solomon's Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 586, its correcter date; which led to its foundation, B. C. 1027; thence to the Exode, B. C. 1648; thence to Abraham's birth, B. C. 2153; thence to the reign of Nimrod, B. C. 2554; thence to the Deluge, B. C. 3155; and thence to the Creation, before Christ 5411; and this date of the Creation is verified by the rectification of the systems of Josephus and Theophilus."

There can indeed be no doubt but that Josephus, whatever inconsistencies may since have occurred in the subsequent copies of his works, considered the history of the ancient Jewish Scriptures to have occupied the space of 5000 years; —that is, as extending from the Genesis of Moses to Malachi, the last of the prophets inclusive;

which would of course make the whole period from the creation to the vulgar Christian æra more than 5400 years. Dr. Hales's date is 5411, which he duly accounts for in various portions of his great work,—a work which, for all the details of the proposed analysis, as well of profane as of sacred chronology, ought to be consulted by every reader interested in such researches.

E. NARES.

Biddenden, Kent,
1830.

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TO

THE NINTH EDITION.

To a work of such standard merit as the *Elements of General History* by Professor Tytler, it must be at all times hazardous to attempt to make any additions; its very conciseness and compressed character having long been amongst its chiefest recommendations. Nevertheless, it has been judged expedient in the present edition to introduce some additional matter; the motives to which may deserve to be explained.

It having been suggested, a few years ago, that it might be well to bring down the Elements of General History, from the period where Professor Tytler had terminated his labours, as nearly as could be to our own times, an attempt was made to do so in a Third Volume, published in 1822, and comprehending the space intermediate

between the end of the reigns of Lewis XIV. and Queen Anne, and the demise of George III.

In the course of the above undertaking, the author's attention was naturally drawn, more than might otherwise have been the case, to the form and composition of the first Two Volumes; and comparing them with the title of "*Elements of General History*," and considering that they were in use, not merely in the universities of the land, but in all respectable schools and seminaries, he could not help thinking that, though they might require no very essential alteration, yet that they fell too much under the description given by the learned author himself, of the *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* of the celebrated Bossuet, namely, that "though it was a work of great merit, it was rather useful to those who had already studied history in detail, for uniting in the mind, the great current of events, and recalling to the memory their order and connection, than fitted to convey information to the uninstructed." — The very title of "*Elements*" evidently seems to apply more to the uninstructed than the initiated.

But the learned and ingenious author himself supplies the best excuse for all that has been attempted in the present edition; for in the ad-

vertisement prefixed to his own Second Edition, he acknowledges that " several errors had been corrected, a few omissions supplied, and some amplifications made in the text where they seemed necessary for the better illustration of the subject," and that " the whole work had undergone a revisal."

Nothing but what is entirely consistent with the above passage has been attempted in the present edition; and in order to run no risk of interfering with the established credit of the original work, the author of the additions now made, has been careful to include within brackets, all that has proceeded from himself, that no reader may be deceived; hereafter it may of course be found expedient to incorporate them with the original text. If amplification alone had been the object, there is scarcely a section that might not have admitted of some enlargement; especially, considering the immense amount of modern publications tending to throw more or less light on different portions of history, or periods of time from the very earliest ages to the present day: but wherever the original work was judged to be already full enough, or the author's own opinions seemed to be deliberately expressed, on parti-

cular subjects, especially on topics still open to discussion (not to say litigation or controversy), the text has been scrupulously left as it was.

Though the pages in this edition, as in former ones, will appear, unencumbered with notes and references, yet it may be well to observe, that, with regard to the latter, they are all preserved, as vouchers for every word of new matter; and that nothing has been altered or interpolated but upon such respectable authority, as would probably have had weight with the learned author himself. So much attention, indeed, has been paid to this, that not unfrequently the smallest additions or corrections have been found to give the most trouble; as an instance of which, we may state the following circumstance. In all prior editions, at the battle of Fontenoy in France, in the year 841, as many as one million, expressed in figures 1,000,000, are stated to have fallen in the field. It was not difficult to suspect an error; but it was not easy to correct it, for few authors mention the number. It was easy to strike out a cypher; but an authority was still wanting. At length, in an English Edition of Voltaire's Universal History, the number was found to be, in figures 100,000, and doubts repressed, of course, whe-

ther there might not have been *some exaggeration.* This was probably no mistake of the learned Professor; but that such a misprint should have so long escaped detection is certainly surprising.

In another part of the work, there are two misprints of *Priuli* for *Friuli*, the Dukedom of Berengarius, competitor of the Emperor Arnold, towards the end of the ninth century. Friuli happens to be a place well known, in ancient times, as the *Forum Julii*, preserved in its more modern name; Priuli therefore was a *gross* mistake, and should have been sooner detected. It is certainly singular enough, but true, that the very same mistake is to be found in the English Edition of Voltaire already mentioned.

It would, however, be needless, and might by some perhaps be thought invidious, to insist upon all the errors that have been detected in a work which came perhaps as perfect from the hands of the original author, as any other that could be named; but it is certainly not too much to say with regard to the present Edition, that, even to the very last of those previously delivered to the public, some errors of considerable importance appear to have passed current through schools and universities without de-

tection. In this Edition, all that have been discovered have been carefully corrected, and every thing done, that could consistently be done, to enlarge and improve a standard work, upon the author's own principles.

E. N.

Biddenden, Kent,
1825.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following Work contains the Outlines of a Course of Lectures on General History, delivered for many years in the University of Edinburgh, and received with a portion of the public approbation amply sufficient to compensate the labours of the Author. He began to compose these Elements principally with the view of furnishing an aid to the Students attending those Lectures; but soon conceived that, by giving a little more amplitude to their composition, he might render the Work of more general utility. As now given to the Public, he would willingly flatter himself, it may be not only serviceable to Youth, in furnishing a regular plan for the prosecution of this most important Study, but useful even to those who have acquired a competent knowledge of Ge-

neral History from the perusal of the Works of detached Historians, and who wish to methodise that knowledge, or even to refresh their memory on material facts and the order of events.

In the composition of these Elements, the Author has endeavoured to unite with the detail of facts so much of reflection, as to aid the mind in the formation of rational views of the causes and consequences of events, as well as of the policy of the actors; but he has anxiously guarded against that speculative refinement which has sometimes entered into works of this nature; which, professing to exhibit the Philosophy or the Spirit of History, are more fitted to display the writer's ingenuity as a Theorist, or his talents as a Rhetorician, than to instruct the Reader in the more useful knowledge of Historical Facts.

As the progress of the Human Mind forms a capital object in the Study of History, the State of the Arts and Sciences, the Religion, Laws, Government, and Manners of Nations, are material parts, even in an elementary work of this nature. The History of Literature is a most important article in this study. The Author has therefore endeavoured to give to each

of these topics its due share of attention; and in that view, they are separately treated, in distinct sections, at particular periods. — Of the defects of this Work the Author is more sensible than perhaps any other person can be. Of any merits it may possess beyond those of simplicity and perspicuity, those are the best judges who have an extensive knowledge of the subject, and who know the difficulty of giving general views, and of analysing a science so comprehensive and complicated as UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

ALEX. FRASER TYTLER.

Edinburgh, April, 1801.

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TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

In the Second Edition, several Errors were corrected, a few omissions likewise supplied, and some amplifications made in the Text, where they seemed necessary for the better illustration of the subject. — The whole work has undergone an attentive revisal; and, it is hoped, is thereby rendered less unworthy of the reception which the public indulgence has already given to it.

N. B. In the Fifth Edition, besides many corrections both in the matter and style, the Table of Chronology is very considerably enlarged and improved.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. THE value of any science is to be estimated according to its tendency to promote improvement, either in private virtue, or in those qualities which render man extensively useful in society. — Some objects of pursuit have a secondary utility; in furnishing rational amusement, which, relieving the mind at intervals from the fatigue of serious occupation, invigorates and prepares it for fresh exertion. It is the perfection of any science, to unite these advantages, to promote the advancement of public and private virtue, and to supply such a degree of amusement as to supersede the necessity of recurring to frivolous pursuits for the sake of relaxation. Under this description falls the science of History.

2. HISTORY, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is "Philosophy teaching by examples." The

superior efficacy of example to precept is universally acknowledged. — All the laws of morality and rules of conduct are verified by experience, and are constantly submitted to its test and examination. History, which adds to our own experience an immense treasure of the experience of others, furnishes innumerable proofs, by which we may verify all the precepts of morality and of prudence.

3. History, besides its general advantages, has a distinct species of utility to different men, according to their several ranks in society, and occupations in life.

4. In this country, it is an indispensable duty of every man of liberal birth to be acquainted, in a certain degree, with the science of Politics; and History is the school of Politics. It opens to us the springs of human affairs; the causes of the rise, grandeur, revolutions, and fall of empires: it points out the reciprocal influence of government and of national manners: it dissipates prejudices, nourishes the love of our country, and directs to the best means of its improvement: it illustrates equally the blessings of political union, and the miseries of faction;

the danger, on the one hand, of uncontrolled liberty, and, on the other, the debasing influence of despotic power.

5. It is necessary that the study of History should be prosecuted according to a regular plan; for this science, more perhaps than any other, is liable to perversion from its proper use. With some, it is no better than an idle amusement; with others, it is the food of vanity; with a third class, it fosters the prejudices of party, and leads to political bigotry. It is dangerous for those who, even with the best intentions, seek for historical knowledge, to pursue the study without a guide; for no science has been so little methodised. The sources of prejudice are infinite; and the mind of youth should not be left undirected amidst the erring, the partial, and contradictory representations of Historians. Besides the importance of being able to discriminate truth from falsehood, the attention ought to be directed only to useful truths. — Much danger arises from the perusal of memoirs, collections of anecdotes, &c.; for many of those works exhibit the most depraved pictures, weaken our confidence in virtue, and present the most unfavourable views of human

nature.— [Epistolary correspondence has something in it of a different nature: partaking of the character both of memoirs and anecdote, it may yet be found to contain not only much of real history, but of history that would not otherwise have been known, and that conveyed to us in a style and manner more animated and particular than can often be said to be the case with any other records or historical documents whatsoever, according to the remark of Bacon: "*Epistolæ, magis in proximo at ad vivum negotia solent representare, quam vel annales vel vita.*" Much, however, will of course depend on the importance of the times and events to which such correspondence may relate, as well as on the talents, dignity, or station of the writer.]

6. There are many difficulties which attend the attempt of forming a proper plan of study, and giving an instructive view of General History. Utility is to be reconciled with amusement, prejudices are to be encountered, variety of taste to be consulted, political opinions balanced, judgment and decision exercised on topics keenly controverted. The proposer of such a plan ought, therefore, to be possessed equally of [illegible] of sentiment.

In many cases he must abandon popularity for the calm approbation of his own conscience. Disregarding every partial and inferior consideration, he must direct his view solely to the proper end of all education, — *the forming of good men, and of good citizens.*

7. The object and general purpose of the following Course, is to exhibit a progressive view of the state of mankind, from the earliest stages of which we have any authentic accounts, down to the close of the 17th century; — to delineate the origin of states and of empires, the great outlines of their history, the revolutions which they have undergone, the causes which have contributed to their rise and grandeur, and operated to their decline and extinction.

For these purposes it is necessary to bestow particular attention on the manners of nations, their laws, the nature of their governments, their religion, their intellectual improvements, and their progress in the arts and sciences.

PLAN OF THE COURSE.

Two opposite methods have been followed in giving Academical Lectures on the study of History: the one exhibiting a strict chronological arrangement of events, upon the plan of Turselline's Epitome; the other, a series of disquisitions on the various heads or titles of public law, and the doctrines of politics; illustrated by examples drawn from ancient and modern history.—Both these methods are liable to objection: the former furnishes only a dry chronicle of events, which nothing connects together but the order of time; the latter is insufficient for the most important purposes of history, the tracing events to their causes, the detection of the springs of human actions, the display of the progress of society, and of the rise and fall of states and empires. Finally, by confining history to the exemplification of the doctrines of politics,

In the following Lectures, we hold a middle course between these extremes, and endeavour, by remedying the imperfection of each, to unite, if possible, the advantages of both.

While so much regard is had to Chronology as is necessary for showing the progress of mankind in society, and communicating just ideas of the state of the world in all the different ages to which authentic history extends, we shall, in the delineation of the rise and fall of empires, and their revolutions, pay more attention to the connection of *Subject* than that of *Time*.

In this view, we must reject the common method of arranging General History according to epochs, or eras.

When the world is viewed at any period, either of ancient or of modern history, we generally observe one nation or empire predominant, to whom all the rest bear, as it were, an under part, and to whose history we find that the principal events in the annals of other nations may be referred from some natural connection. This predominant empire or state it is proposed to exhibit to view as the principal object, whose history, therefore, is to be more fully delineated, while the rest are only incidentally touched

when they come to have a natural connection with the principal.

The Jewish history, belonging to a different department of academical education, enters not into the plan of these Lectures; though we often resort to the sacred writings for detached facts illustrative of the manners of ancient nations.

In the ancient world, among the profane nations, the Greeks are the earliest people who make a distinguished figure, and whose history is at the same time authentic.

The Greeks owed their civilisation to the Egyptians and Phœnicians. The Grecian history is, therefore, properly introduced by a short account of these nations, and of the Assyrians, their rivals, conquered at one time by the Egyptians, and conquerors afterwards of them in their turn.

Rise of the independent states of Greece, and singular constitution of the two great Republics of Sparta and Athens.

The war of Greece with Persia induces a short account of the preceding periods of the history of that nation, the rise of the Persian monarchy, the nature of its government, manners, and religion.

The Grecian history is pursued through all the revolutions of the nation, till Greece becomes a province of the Roman empire.

Political reflections applicable to the history of the States of Greece. — Progress of the Greeks in the Arts. — Of the Greek Poets, Historians, Philosophers.

Rome, after the conquest of Greece, becomes the leading object of attention.

Origin of the Romans. — Nature of their government under the Kings. — Easy substitution of the consular for the regal dignity. — Subsequent changes in the constitution. — Progress to a democracy. — Extension of the Roman arms. — Conquest of Italy. — Wars with foreign nations.

The Punic wars open a collateral view to the history of Carthage and of Sicily.

Success of the Roman arms in Asia, Macedonia, and Greece. — Opulence of the republic from her conquests, and corruption of her manners. — The civil wars, and ruin of the commonwealth.

Particulars which mark the genius and national spirit of the Romans: — Education. — Laws. — Literary character. — Art of war. — Public and private manners.

Rome under the Emperors: — Artful policy by which the first Emperors disguised their absolute authority. — Decline of the ambitious character of the Romans. — Easy submission to the loss of civil liberty. — The military spirit purposely abased by the Emperors. — The empire divided becomes a languid body, without internal vigour. — The Gothic nations pour down from the North. — Italy conquered successively by the Heruli, Ostrogoths, and Lombards. — Extinction of the Western empire.

The manners, genius, laws, and government of the Gothic nations form an important object of enquiry, from their influence on the manners and policy of the modern European kingdoms.

In the delineation of Modern History, the leading objects of attention are more various; the scene is oftener changed: nations, too, which for a while occupy the chief attention, become for a time subordinate, and afterwards re-assume their rank as principal; yet the same plan is pursued as in the department of Ancient History; the picture is occupied only by one [illegible] hold

an inferior rank, and are taken notice of only when connected with the principal.

Upon the fall of the Western empire, the Saracens are the first who distinguish themselves by the extension of their conquests, and the splendour of their dominion.

While the Saracens extend their arms in the East and in Africa, a new empire of the West is founded by Charlemagne. — The rise and progress of the monarchy of the Franks. — The origin of the Feudal system. — State of the European manners in the age of Charlemagne. — Government, Arts and Sciences, Literature.

As collateral objects of attention, we survey the remains of the Roman empire in the East; the conquests and settlements of the Normans; the foundation and progress of the temporal dominion of the church of Rome; conquest of Spain by the Saracens.

The conquest of England by the Normans solicits our attention to the history of Britain. Retrospective view of the British history, from its earliest period to the end of the Anglo-Saxon government in England. — Observations on the government, laws, and manners of the Anglo-Saxons.

Collateral view of the state of the continental

kingdoms of Europe during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. — France under the Capetian race of Monarchs. — Conquests of the Normans in Italy and Sicily. — State of the Northern kingdoms of Europe. — The Eastern empire. — Empire of Germany. — Disputes of supremacy between the Popes and the Emperors.

The history of Britain still the principal object of attention. — England under the kings of the Norman line, and the first princes of the Plantagenet branch. — The conquest of Ireland under Henry II. introduces an anticipated progressive view of the political connection between England and Ireland down to the present time. — As we proceed in the delineation of the British history, we note particularly those circumstances which mark the growth of the English constitution.

At this period all the kingdoms of Europe join in the Crusades. — A brief account is given of those enterprises. — Moral and political effects of the Crusades on the nations of Europe. — Origin of Chivalry, and rise of Romantic Fiction.

Short connected sketch of the state of the European nations after the Crusades. — Rise of the House of Austria. — Decline of the Feudal

government in France. — Establishment of the Swiss republics. — Disorders in the Popedom. — Council of Constance.

The history of Britain resumed. — England under Henry III. and Edward I. — The conquest of Wales. — The history of Scotland at this period intimately connected with that of England. — View of the Scottish history from Malcolm Canmore to Robert Bruce. — State of both kingdoms during the reigns of Edward II. and III. — The history of France connected with that of Britain. — France itself won by Henry V.

The state of the East at this period affords the most interesting object of attention. — The progress of the Ottoman arms retarded for a while by the conquests of Tamerlane and of Scanderberg. — The Turks prosecute their victories under Mahomet the Great, to the total extinction of the Constantinopolitan empire. — The constitution and policy of the Turkish empire.

France, in this age, emancipates herself from the Feudal servitude; and Spain from the union of Arragon and Castile, and the fall of the kingdom of the Moors, becomes one monarchy under Ferdinand and Isabella.

The history of Britain is resumed. — Sketch of the history of England down to the reign of Henry VIII. — Of Scotland, during the reigns of the five James's. — Delineation of the ancient constitution of the Scottish government.

The end of the fifteenth century is a remarkable era in the history of Europe. Learning and the sciences underwent at that time a very rapid improvement, and, after ages of darkness, shone out at once with surprising lustre.

A connected view is presented of the progress of literature in Europe, from its revival down to this period. — In the same age, the advancement of Navigation, and the course to India by the Cape of Good Hope, explored by the Portuguese, affect the commerce of all the European kingdoms.

The age of Charles V. unites in one connected view the affairs of Germany, of the Netherlands, of Spain, of France, of England, and of Italy. The discovery of the New World, the Reformation in Germany and in England, and the splendour of the Fine Arts under the pontificate of Leo X., render this period one of the most interesting in the annals of mankind.

The pacification of Europe, by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, allows us for awhile to turn

our attention to the state of Asia. A short sketch is given of the modern history of Persia, and the state of the other kingdoms of Asia, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the history of India; the manners, laws, arts and sciences, and the religion of the Hindoos; the history of China and Japan; the antiquity of the Chinese empire, its manners, laws, government, and attainments in the arts and sciences.

Returning to Europe, the attention is directed to the state of the continental kingdoms in the age of Philip II. Spain, the Netherlands, France, and England, present a various and animated picture.

England under Elisabeth. — The progress of the Reformation in Scotland. — The distracted reign of Mary Queen of Scots. — The history of Britain pursued without interruption down to the Revolution, and here closed by a sketch of the progress of the English constitution, and an examination of its nature at this period, when it became fixed and determined.

The history of the Southern continental kingdoms is brought down to the end of the reign of Louis XIV.; of the Northern, to the conclusion of the reigns of Charles XII. of Sweden, and of Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy.

We finish this view of Universal History, by a survey of the state of the Arts and Sciences, and of the progress of Literature in Europe, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Chronology observed in this View of Universal History is that of Archbishop Usher, which is founded on the Hebrew Text of the Sacred Writings. A short Table of Chronology is subjoined to these Heads, for the Ease of the Student; and Maps are added of Ancient and Modern Geography, delineated according to the best Authorities.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

PART FIRST.

I.

It is a difficult task to delineate the state of mankind in the earliest ages of the world. We want information sufficient to give us positive ideas on the subject; but as man advances in civilisation, and in proportion as history becomes useful and important, its certainty increases, and its materials are more abundant.

Various notions have been formed with respect to the population of the antediluvian world and its physical appearance; but as these are rather matters of theory than of fact, they scarcely fall within the province of history; and they are of the less consequence, that we are certain the state of those antediluvian ages could have had no material influence on the times which succeeded them.

The books of Moses afford the earliest authentic history of the ages immediately following the Deluge.

About 150 years after that event, Nimrod (the Belus of profane historians) built Babylon, [on the eastern side of the river Euphrates,] and Nineveh, [on the river Tigris,] which afterwards became the capital of the Assyrian empire.

Ninus [II.], and his queen Semiramis, are said to have raised the empire of Assyria to [so high a degree of splendour as to be reputed the second, if not the proper, founders of it.]

From the death of Ninias the son of Ninus [and Semiramis], down to the revolt of the Medes under Sardanapalus, a period of 800 years, there is a chasm in the history of Assyria and Babylon. This is to be supplied only from conjecture.

The earliest periods of the Egyptian history are equally uncertain with those of the Assyrian. — Menes is accounted the first sovereign under the regal government, after the patriarchal regimen of the family of Misor, or Misraim of the Holy Scriptures, grandson of Noah. Some make him the Osiris of Egypt, the inventor of arts, and the civilizer of a great part of the Eastern world.

After Menes or Osiris, Egypt appears to have been subject to many dynasties of kings, and the people to have attained a considerable degree of civilisation: but a period of barbarism succeeded under the Shepherd-kings, subsisting for the space of some centuries, down to the age of Sesostris, [the precise period of whose life and reign seems very uncertain, but who is generally held to have first] united the separate principalities into one kingdom, regulated its policy with admirable skill, and distinguished himself equally by his foreign conquests, and by his domestic administration.

II.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE NATURE OF THE FIRST GOVERNMENTS, AND ON THE LAWS, CUSTOMS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES OF THE EARLY AGES.

§ 1. THE earliest Government is the Patriarchal, which subsists in the rudest periods of society.

The patriarchal government leads by an easy progress to the monarchical.

The first monarchies must have been very weak, and their territory extremely limited. The idea of security precedes that of conquest. In forming our notions of the extent of the

first monarchies, we are deceived by the word King, which, according to modern ideas, is connected with an extent of territory, and a proportional power. — The kings in Scripture are no more than the chiefs of tribes. There were five kings in the vale of Sodom. Joshua defeated in his wars thirty-one kings, and Adonizedec threescore and ten.

The regal office was in all probability at first elective. The transmission of the sceptre to the heir of the last monarch arises, in time, from the experience of the mischiefs attending frequent elections, and the disorders occasioned by ambitious men aspiring at that dignity.

The first ideas of conquest must have proceeded from a people in the state of shepherds, who, necessarily changing their pastures, would probably make incursions on the appropriated territory of their neighbours. Such were the Arabian or Phœnician invaders, who, under the name of Shepherd-kings, conquered Egypt. But kingdoms so founded could have little duration. Laws, and good policy, essential to the stability of kingdoms, are the fruit of intellectual refinement, and arise only in a state of society considerably advanced in civilisation.

The progress from barbarism to civilisation is

slow; because every step in the progress is the result of necessity, after the experience of an error, or the strong feeling of a want.

[It has perhaps been rather too generally concluded, that the gradations have been regular from the state of hunters and fishers subsisting upon wild animals, through the pastoral or shepherd state, to the agricultural; the foundation of fixed and settled property. But the strong attachment of the rudest or savage tribes to the peculiarities of their mode of life seldom, if ever, allowing them to pass spontaneously even so far as to the pastoral state, tends rather to show that the course of things has been different; that accidental discoveries having conduced to the amelioration of particular regions, civilisation has been propagated from thence as from a centre, correcting in its progress some error, or supplying some want, in the neighbouring parts, till barbarism has been subdued, or brought to give way to the adventitious refinements of a higher civilisation. It was thus that Greece was civilised by colonies from Egypt and Phœnicia, Italy by Asiatic and Grecian adventurers, our own country, in the first instance, by the Roman invaders, and the whole continent of America by the Europeans of modern days.]

§ 2. *Origin of Laws.* — Certain political writers have supposed, that in the infancy of society penal laws must have been extremely mild. We presume the contrary to have been rather the case; as the more barbarous the people, the stronger must be the bonds to restrain them; and history confirms the supposition, in the ancient laws of the Jews, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Gauls.

Among the earliest laws of all states are those regarding marriage; for the institution of marriage is coëval with the formation of society. The first sovereigns of all states are said to have instituted marriage; and the earliest laws provided encouragements to matrimony.

Among the ancient nations, the husband purchased his wife, by money, or personal services. Among the Assyrians the marriageable women were put up to auction; and the price obtained for the more beautiful was assigned as a dowry to the more homely.

The Laws of Succession are next in order to those of marriage. The father had the absolute power in the division of his estate. But primogeniture was understood to confer certain rights.

Laws arise necessarily and imperceptibly from the [illegible] of society; and each particular law may be traced from the state of manners, or

the political emergency which gave it birth. Hence we perceive the intimate connection between history and jurisprudence, and the light which they must necessarily throw upon each other. The laws of a country are best interpreted from its history; and its uncertain history is best elucidated by its ancient laws.

§ 3. *Earliest Methods of authenticating Contracts.* — Before the invention of writing, contracts, testaments, sales, marriages, and the like, were transacted in public. — The Jewish and the Grecian histories furnish many examples. — Some barbarous nations authenticate their bargains by exchanging symbols or tallies. — The Peruvians accomplished most of the purposes of writing by knotted cords of various colours, termed *Quipos*. — The Mexicans communicated intelligence to a distance by painting. — Other nations used an abridged mode of painting, or hieroglyphics. — Before the use of writing, the Egyptians used hieroglyphics for transmitting and recording knowledge: after writing, they employed it for veiling or concealing it from the vulgar.

§ 4. *Methods for recording Historical Facts and publishing Laws.* — Poetry and song were

the first vehicles of history, and the earliest mode of promulgating laws. The songs of the bards record a great deal of ancient history: the laws of many of the ancient nations were composed in verse.

Stones, rude and sculptured, *tumuli* and mounds of earth, are the monuments of history among a barbarous people; and columns, triumphal arches, coins, and medals, among a more refined. — These likewise illustrate the progress of manners and of the arts.

§ 5. *Religious Institutions.* — Among the earliest institutions of all nations, are those which regard religious worship. The sentiment of religion is deeply rooted in the human mind. An uninstructed savage will infer the existence of a God, and his attributes, from the general order and mechanism of nature; and even its temporary irregularities lead to a religious veneration or dread of the unknown Power which conducts it.

Before conceiving the idea of a being utterly imperceptible to his senses, a savage would naturally seek that Being in the most striking objects of [illegible] which he owed his most apparent benefits, [illegible] beneficial

influence over all nature, was among the earliest objects of worship. The fire presented a symbol of the sun. The other celestial bodies naturally attracted their share of veneration. [But the storm and the tempest had their votaries also; nor can it be fairly alleged, that a sense of beneficence was the only excitement to religious feeling: there constantly existed a strange propensity to cruel and sanguinary rites, to appease deities of a malevolent cast, or conciliate avenging demons; εις λυτρον τοις τιμωροις δαιμοσι, as Philo renders the account given of the Phœnician sacrifices by Sanchoniathon.]

The symbolical mode of writing led to many peculiarities of the idolatrous worship of the ancient nations. Animals, symbolical of the attributes of Deity, became gods themselves. The same god, represented by different animals, was supposed to have changed himself into different forms. — The gratitude and veneration for men whose lives had been eminently useful, joined to the belief of the soul's immortality, led to the *apotheosis* of heroes. — Many excellent reflections on idolatry and polytheism are found in the apochryphal book called *The Wisdom of Solomon.*

The priesthood was anciently exercised by the

chief or monarch; but as an empire became extensive, the monarch exercised this office by his delegates; and hence an additional source of veneration for the priesthood. The priests were the framers and the administrators of the laws.

§ 6. *Arts and Sciences of the Ancient Nations.* — The useful arts are the offspring of necessity; the sciences are the fruit of ease and leisure. The construction of huts, of weapons of war, and of hunting, are the earliest arts. Agriculture is not practised till the tribe becomes stationary, and property is defined and secured.

The sciences arise in a cultivated society, where individuals enjoy that leisure which invites to study and speculation. The priests, maintained in that condition by the monarch, were the earliest cultivators of science. The Egyptian science was confined to the priests. Astronomy, which is among the earliest of the sciences, owed its origin probably to superstition. Medicine was among the early sciences. All rude nations have a pharmacy of their own, equal in general to their wants. Luxury, creating new and more complex diseases, requires a profounder knowledge of medicine, and of the

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III.

OF THE EGYPTIANS.

1. A GREAT portion of the knowledge and attainments of the ancient nations, and by consequence of those of the moderns, is to be traced to Egypt. The Egyptians instructed the Greeks; they performed the same office to the Romans; and the two latter have transmitted much of that knowledge to the world of which we are in possession at this day.*

2. The antiquity of this empire, though we give no credit to the chronicles of Manetho, [which, like those of the Chaldeans, Chinese, and Indians, appear clearly to have been more astronomical than historical,] must be allowed to be very great. — The Mosaic writings represent Egypt, about 430 years after the flood, as a flourishing and well regulated kingdom. — The nature of the country itself affords a presumption of the great antiquity of the empire, and its early civilisation. — From the fertilising effects of the waters of the Nile, it is probable that

* For the supposed origin of Egyptian science, see Part II. Sect. 50.

agriculture would be more early practised there, than in regions less favoured by nature. — The periodical inundations of the Nile are owing to the vapours of the Mediterranean condensed on the mountains of Ethiopia.

3. The government of Egypt was a hereditary monarchy. — The powers of the Monarch were limited by constitutional laws; yet in many respects his authority was extremely despotical. — The functions of the Sovereign were partly civil and partly religious. — The King had the chief regulation of all that regarded the worship of the gods; and the priests, considered as his deputies, [and having more skill and learning than the other orders,] filled all the offices of state. They were both the legislators and the civil judges; they imposed and levied the taxes, and regulated weights and measures. — The great national tribunal was composed of thirty judges, chosen from the three principal departments [or cities] of the empire, — [Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis.] — The administration of justice was defrayed by the Sovereign, [who exacted an oath from his judges, not to yield obedience even to himself, if he passed any unjust sentence;] and, as parties were their own advocates, the expense was no burden upon the people. The judges were they in regard to re-

purity and impartiality of their decisions, that, besides excluding professed advocates and public pleaders, that no extraordinary gifts of oratory might mislead them, every case was laid before them in writing, that the parties might stand on an equal footing, and on the exact merits of the question.] — The penal laws of Egypt were uncommonly severe. — Female chastity was most rigidly protected, [and personal security so guarded by the laws, that whoever saw another attacked, and neglected to render him assistance, was liable to be punished as an assassin.] — Funeral rites were not conferred but after a scrutiny into the life of the deceased, and by a judicial decree approving of his character. The characters even of the sovereigns were subjected to this enquiry. [Daily, indeed, during their lives, in the morning service of the temple, and in the presence of the whole court, were their kings, in a remarkable manner; and with singular delicacy, so reminded of every regal virtue, and of the baseness of every opposite quality, as pretty generally to ensure their conformity to the laws; as a proof of which, most of them are reported to have passed the last ordeal of the posthumous judgment before mentioned, with credit and respect, and to have been, on their deaths, very sincerely lamented by their subjects.]

There was an extraordinary regulation in Egypt regarding the borrowing of money. [As it was usual to preserve, in a remarkable manner, the dead bodies of their ancestors,] the borrower gave in pledge the body of his father, and was deprived of funeral rites if he failed to redeem it.

Population was encouraged by law; and every man was bound to maintain and educate the children born to him of his slaves.

3. The manners of the Egyptians were very early formed. They had a singular attachment to ancient usages; a dislike to innovation; a jealousy and abhorrence of strangers.

4. They preceded most of the ancient nations in the knowledge of the useful arts, and in the cultivation of the sciences. — Architecture was early brought to great perfection. — Their buildings, the pyramids, obelisks, &c. have, from the mildness of the climate, suffered little injury from time. — Pliny describes the contrivance for transporting the obelisks. — The whole country abounds with the remains of ancient magnificence. — Thebes, in Upper Egypt, was one of the most splendid cities in the universe.

The pyramids are supposed to have been [illegible] ey were

probably the sepulchral monuments of the Sovereigns. The Egyptians believed that death did not separate the soul from the body; and hence their extreme care to preserve the body entire, by embalming, concealing it in caves and catacombs, and guarding it by such stupendous structures. [Within the last and present centuries these surprising relics of ancient times have been very diligently examined by modern travellers; among whom the names of our countrymen, Mr. Davison, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Salt, the promoter of the very curious discoveries of Belzoni, and M. Caviglia, deserve to be distinguished.]

The remains of art in Egypt, though venerable for their great antiquity, are extremely deficient in beauty and elegance. — The Egyptians were ignorant of the construction of an arch. — The remains of painting and sculpture evince but a slender proficiency in those arts. [Their use of symbols and hieroglyphics is too well known to be insisted upon. They appear not only to have taken the lead in such kinds of allegorical painting, but to have surpassed most other nations in the obscurity and mysticism of their fictions.]

5. The Egyptians possessed considerable know-

ledge of geometry, mechanics, and astronomy. They had divided the zodiac into twelve signs; they calculated eclipses; and seem to have had an idea of the motion of the earth.

6. The morality taught by the priests was pure and refined; but it had little influence on the manners of the people.

7. So likewise the theology and secret doctrines of the priests were rational and sublime; but the worship of the people was debased by the most absurd and contemptible superstition. [We know, upon the authority of the sacred writings, how addicted they were to magic, and enchantments, though the grounds and extent of their operations have constantly eluded the enquiries and researches of the learned. They appear to have been a combination of the mysteries and delusions of astrology and demonology, but by what arts or influence they managed to impose on the senses of mankind must for ever remain in obscurity.]

8. Notwithstanding the early civilisation and the great attainments of this people, their national character was extremely low and despicable among the contemporary nations of antiquity. The reason of this is, they were a people who chose to separate themselves from the rest

of mankind; they were not known to other nations by their conquests; they had little connection with them by commerce; and they had an antipathy to the persons and manners of strangers.

9. There were likewise many circumstances of their own manners which tended to degrade them in the opinion of other nations. — All professions were hereditary in Egypt, and the rank of each was scrupulously settled: [the principle upon which they acted in this arrangement of things was in itself not discreditable; for the intention was, that no person should be excused or exempt from serving the community, and that all professions and employments should on this ground be accounted honourable; but in a practical point of view nothing could be more adverse to all emulation, and all improvement.] The objects of the religious worship were different in different parts of the kingdom; a fertile source of division and controversy: their particular superstitions were of the most absurd and debasing nature; and the manners of the people were extremely loose and profligate. [It has been doubted whether their hieroglyphics were the cause of their worshipping such a variety of animals, or the variety of objects of worship the origin of their hieroglyphics.]

IV.

OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

1. The Phœnicians, [occupying the narrow tract of country between Syria and Judea to the north and south, and the Mediterranean sea to the west,] were among the most early civilised nations of the East. We are indebted to them for the invention of writing, [possibly also of arithmetic and astronomy,] and for the first attempts at commercial navigation; [to which they were very naturally led by the convenience of their harbours, and the excellent materials for ship-building with which the surrounding mountains abounded: — The "fir trees of Senir, the cedars of Lebanon and the oaks of Bashan." Ezekiel, xxvii.] — The fragments of Sanchoniathon are the most ancient monuments of writing after the books of Moses. Sanchoniathon was contemporary with Joshua, about 1440 B.C. and 500 before the cities of Attica were united by Theseus.

2. The Phœnicians (the Canaanites of Scripture) were a commercial people in the days of Abraham. — In the time of the Hebrew Judges

they had begun to colonise. — Their first settlements were Cyprus and Rhodes: thence they passed into Greece, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, and formed establishments likewise [not only on the northern, but even] on the western coast of Africa. — The Sidonians carried on an extensive commerce at the time of the Trojan war.

[3. The Phœnicians appear to have made an early progress in manufactures. The glass of Sidon, the purple and fine linen of Tyre, were held in high estimation; through their neighbours, the Syrians, they trafficked largely with the eastern countries, distributing the products of the latter in the west; the whole commerce of which, they may be said, for many years to have engrossed, being jealous of all interference. The circumnavigation of Africa, in the time of Nechos, king of Egypt, six centuries before the birth of our Saviour, if entitled to credit, was entrusted to Phœnicians. Homer, it may be observed in conclusion, has distinguished the Sidonians as a people skilled in various arts, πολυδαιδαλοι, and particularly enumerated among their performances female dresses of rare embroidery, *Iliad*, vi. and curiously wrought silver urns or goblets. *Iliad*, xxiii. *Odyss.* xv.]

V.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

1. GREECE being indebted for the first rudiments of civilisation to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, its history is properly introduced by an account of those more ancient nations.

2. The early antiquities of this country are disguised by fable; but from the time when it becomes important, it has been treated of by eminent writers.

3. The ancient inhabitants of Greece, the Pelasgi, Hiantes, Leleges, were extremely barbarous; but a dawning of civilisation arose under the Titans, a Phœnician or Egyptian colony. — The Titans gave the Greeks the first ideas of religion, and introduced the worship of their own gods, Saturn, Jupiter, Ceres, &c. Succeeding ages confounded those Titans themselves with the gods, and hence sprung numberless fables.

4. Inachus, the last of the Titans, founded the kingdom of Argos, 1856 B. C. — And Egialeus, one of his sons, the kingdom of Sicyon; [though, if we might trust to some of the earlier records of Sicyon, it would appear to have been founded more than two centuries before Argos.

Its modern name of *Basilico* has, indeed, been considered, by some grave writers, as a standing proof and memorial of its being the most ancient *kingdom* of Greece; but we think without sufficient foundation.]

5. In the following century happened the deluge of Ogyges, 1796 B. C. — Then followed a period of barbarism for above 200 years.

6. Cecrops, the leader of another colony from Egypt, landed in Attica, 1582 B. C., and, connecting himself with the last king, succeeded, on his death, to the sovereignty. [Having opened his country as an asylum to the innocent and persecuted,] he built twelve cities, [Athens amongst others, originally called after himself Cécropia,] and was eminent both as a lawgiver and politician.

7. The Grecian History derives some authenticity at this period from the Chronicle of Paros, preserved among the Arundelian marbles at Oxford. — The authority of this Chronicle has been questioned of late, and many arguments adduced, presumptive of its being a forgery; but on a review of the whole controversy, we judge the arguments for its authenticity greatly to preponderate. [In its perfect state it exhibited a chronological detail of the principal

events of Greece, and the neighbouring states, from the time of Cecrops, B. C. 1582, to the archonship of Diognetus, at Athens, B. C. 264. But 90 years of the Chronicle being lost, it now ends at the archonship of Diotimus, B. C. 354.]

8. Cranaus succeeded Cecrops, in whose time happened two remarkable events recorded in the Chronicle of Paros, — the judgment of the Areopagus between Mars and Neptune, two princes of Thessaly; and the deluge of Deucalion. — The court of Areopagus, at Athens, was instituted by Cecrops. The number of its judges varied at different periods from nine to fifty-one. [Judgment was pronounced in the open air by night, after the most simple exposition of matters, and its decisions have been declared by Demosthenes to have been invariably just and impartial.] — The deluge of Deucalion, magnified and disguised by the poets, was probably only a partial inundation; [or perhaps the disruption of inland seas or lakes, as in *Thessaly* particularly, as described by *Herodotus, book vii.*, and which, by surcharging the waters of the Mediterranean, may have ultimately contributed to the bursting open the straits of Gibraltar.]

9. Amphictyon, the contemporary of Cranaus, if the founder of the Amphictyonic Council,

must have possessed extensive views of policy. — This council, from a league of twelve cities, became a representative assembly of the states of Greece, and had the most admirable political effects in uniting the nation, and giving it a common interest. [The assemblies met sometimes at Thermopylæ, sometimes at Delphi. *Their* decisions also were held in great veneration.]

10. Cadmus, about 1519 B. C. introduced alphabetic writing into Greece from Phœnicia. — The alphabet then had only sixteen letters; and the mode of writing (termed *Boustrophedon*) was alternately from left to right, and right to left. — From this period, [supposed to be coincident with the settlement of the Israelites under Joshua, in the land of Canaan, whereby many of the Phœnicians were probably driven to seek refuge in other countries,] the Greeks made rapid advances in civilisation. — [Cadmus is reported to have taught them the use of the vine, and all the processes of metallurgy.]

VI.

REFLECTIONS ON THE FIRST AND RUDEST PERIODS OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY.

1. The country of Greece presents a large, irregular peninsula, intersected by many chains

of mountains, separating its different districts, and opposing natural impediments to general intercourse, and therefore to rapid civilisation. — The extreme barbarism of the Pelasgi, who are said to have been cannibals, and ignorant of the use of fire, has its parallel in modern barbarous nations. — There were many circumstances that retarded the progress of the Greeks to refinement. The introduction of a national religion was best fitted to remove these obstacles. Receiving this new system of Theology from strangers, and entertaining at first very confused ideas of it, they would naturally blend its doctrines and worship with the notions of religion which they formerly possessed; and hence we observe only partial coincidences of the Grecian with the Egyptian and Phœnician mythologies. — It has been a vain and preposterous labour of modern mythological writers to attempt to trace all the fables of antiquity, and the various systems of Pagan Theology, up to one common source. — The absurdity of this is best shown by comparing the different and most contradictory solutions of the same fable given by different mythologists; as, for example, by Lord Bacon and the Abbé Banier. Some authors, with much indiscretion, have attempted to deduce all the Pagan mythologies from the Holy

Scriptures. — Such researches are not only unprofitable, but positively mischievous.

2. Superstition, in the early periods, was a predominant characteristic of the Greeks. — To this age, and to this character of the people, we refer the origin of the Grecian oracles, and the institution of the public games in honour of the gods.

The desire of penetrating into futurity, and the superstition common to rude nations, gave rise to the oracles of Delphi, Dodona, &c.

The resort of strangers to these oracles on particular occasions led to the celebration of a festival, and to public games. [The Amphictyonic council had the particular charge and superintendence of the temple and proceedings at Delphi; and it may be noticed, as redounding to the credit of the oracles, that the maintenance of freedom and good order, and the softening of manners, appear to have been the chief objects of their responses,]

The four solem games of the Greeks, particularly termed ἱεροι were the Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian. They consisted principally in contests of skill in all the athletic exercises, and the prizes were chiefly honorary marks of distinction: — Archbishop Potter, in his *Archæologia Græca*, fully details

their particular nature. — These games had excellent political effects, in promoting national union, in diffusing the love of glory, and training the youth to martial exercises. They cherished at once a heroical and a superstitious spirit, which led to the formation of extraordinary and hazardous enterprises.

VII.

EARLY PERIOD OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY. — THE ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION. — WARS OF THEBES AND OF TROY.

1. The history of Greece, for a period of 300 years preceding the Trojan war, is intermixed with fables; but contains, at the same time, many facts entitled to credit, as authentic. Erectheus, or Ericthonius, either a Greek who had visited Egypt, or the leader of a new Egyptian colony, cultivated the plains of Eleusis, and instituted the Eleusinian mysteries, in imitation of the Egyptian games of Isis, [if not, indeed, of the Jewish feast of Tabernacles, which many analogous circumstances have been thought to prove]. These mysteries were of a religious and moral nature, conveying the doctrines of the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of reward and punishment. Cicero

speaks of them with high encomium. — But the ceremonies connected with them were childish and ridiculous.

2. Theseus laid the foundation of the grandeur of Attica, by uniting its twelve cities, and giving them a common constitution, 1257 B. C.; [reserving to himself scarcely any privilege, except that of presiding in the council, and at the celebration of sacrifices, and the command in time of war.]

3. The first great enterprise of the Greeks was the Argonautic expedition, 1263 B. C. (Usher), and 937 B. C. (Sir I. Newton.) [But the latter computation is now judged to be liable to insurmountable objections.*] This expedition is supposed to have been both a military and a mercantile adventure, and was singularly bold for the times in which it was undertaken. The object was to open the commerce of the Euxine sea, and to secure some establishments on its coasts; [led thereto probably by the prospect of obtaining in abundance the precious metals.] The astronomer Chiron directed the plan of the voyage, and formed, for the use of the mariners, a scheme of the constellations, fixing with ac-

* See Stevenson's Historical Sketch of the Progress of Discovery, Navigation, and Commerce. 1824.

curacy the solstitial and equinoctial points. Sir Isaac Newton has founded his emendation of the ancient Chronology on a calculation of the regular procession of the equinoxes from this period to the present, as well as on an estimate of the medium length of human generations.*

4. The state of the military art at this time in Greece may be estimated from an account of the sieges of Thebes and of Troy.

In these enterprises the arts of attack and defence were very rude and imperfect. The siege was entirely of the nature of blockade, and therefore necessarily of long duration. — A dispute for the divided sovereignty of Thebes between the brothers Eteocles and Polynices gave rise to the war, which was terminated by single combat, in which both were killed.

5. The sons of the commanders slain in this war renewed the quarrel of their fathers, and occasioned the war of the *Epigonoi*, — a subject on which Homer is said to have written a poem, now lost, equal to the Iliad and Odyssey.

6. The detail of the war of Troy rests chiefly on the authority of Homer, and ought not, in spite of modern scepticism, to be refused, in its principal facts, the credit of a true history. —

After a blockade of ten years, Troy was taken, either by storm or surprise, 1184 B. C., and, being set on fire in the night, was burnt to the ground: not a vestige of its ruins existing at the present day. The empire fell from that moment. The Greeks settled a colony near the spot; and the rest of the kingdom was occupied by the Lydians.

7. Military expeditions at this time were carried on only in the spring and summer. — In a tedious siege, the winter was a season of armistice. — The science of military tactics was then utterly unknown, every battle being a multitude of single combats. — The soldier had no pay but his share of the booty, divided by the chiefs. — The weapons of war were the sword, the bow, the javelin, the club, the hatchet, and the sling. A helmet of brass, an enormous shield, a cuirass, and buskins, were the weapons of defence.

VIII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREEK COLONIES.

1. About eighty years after the taking of Troy began the war of the Heraclidæ. Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, sovereign of

Mycenæ, was banished from his country with all his family, while the crown was possessed by an usurper. His descendants, after the period of a century, returned to Peloponnesus, and, subduing all their enemies, took possession of the states of Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedæmon.

2. A long period of civil war and bloodshed succeeded, and Greece, divided among a number of petty tyrants, suffered equally the miseries of oppression and anarchy.

Codrus, King of Athens, [on an irruption of the Heraclidæ into Attica, and to give a particular turn to an oracle,] showed a singular example of patriotism, in devoting himself to death for his country; yet the Athenians, weary of monarchy, [which had been the settled form of government without interruption for the space of four hundred and eighty-seven years, from Cecrops to Codrus,] determined to make the experiment of a popular constitution. Medon, the son of Codrus, was elected chief magistrate, with the title of Archon; [at first an office for life, but in course of time subject to many limitations, as will be seen hereafter.] This is the commencement of the Athenian republic, about 1068 B. C.

3. It was at this time that the Greeks began

to colonise. The oppression which they suffered at home forced many of them to abandon their country, and seek refuge in other lands. — A large body of Æolians from Peloponnesus founded twelve cities in the Lesser Asia, of which Smyrna was the most considerable. A troop of Ionian exiles built Ephesus, Colophon, Clazomene, and other towns; giving to their new settlements the name of their native country Ionia. The Dorians sent off colonies to Italy and Sicily, founding, in the former, Tarentum and Locri, and in the latter, Syracuse and Agrigentum. The mother-country considered its colonies as emancipated children. — These speedily attained to eminence and splendour, rivalling and surpassing their parent states: and the example of their prosperity, which was attributed to the freedom of their governments, incited the states of Greece, oppressed by a number of petty despots, to put an end to the regal government, and try the experiment of a popular constitution. Athens and Thebes gave the first examples, which were soon followed by all the rest.

4. These infant republics demanded new laws; and it was necessary that some enlightened citizens should arise, who had discernment

to perceive what system of legislation was most adapted to the character of his native state; who had abilities to compile such a system, and sufficient authority with his countrymen to recommend and enforce it. Such men were the Spartan Lycurgus and the Athenian Solon.

IX.

THE REPUBLIC OF SPARTA.

1. The origin of this political system has given rise to much ingenious disquisition among the moderns, and affords a remarkable instance of the passion for systematising. It is a prevailing propensity with modern philosophers to reduce every thing to general principles. Man, say they, is always the same animal, and, when placed in similar situations, will always exhibit a similar appearance. His manners, his improvements, the government and laws under which he lives, arise necessarily from the situation in which we find him; and all is the result of a few general laws of nature which operate universally on the human species. But in the ardour of this passion for generalising, these

philosophers often forget, that it is the knowledge of facts which can alone lead to the discovery of general laws: a knowledge not limited to the history of a single age or nation, but extended to that of the whole species in every age and climate. Antecedently to such knowledge, all historical system is mere romance.

2. Of this nature is a late theory of the constitution of Sparta, first started by Mr. Brown in his Essay on Civil Liberty; and from him adopted by later writers. It thus accounts for the origin of the Spartan constitution *:—"The "army of the Heraclidæ, when they came to re- "cover the dominion of their ancestors, was "composed of Dorians from Thessaly, the most "barbarous of all the Greek tribes. The "Achæans, the ancient inhabitants of Laconia, "were compelled to seek new habitations, "while the barbarians of Thessaly took posses- "sion of their country. Of all the nations "which are the subject of historical record, this "people bore the nearest resemblance to the "rude Americans. An American tribe, where "a chief presides, where the council of the aged "deliberate, and the assembly of the people "gives their voice, is on the eve of such a poli-

* Logan's Philosophy of History, &c.

" tical establishment as the Spartan constitu-
" tion." The Dorians or Thessalians settled in Lacedæmon, manifested, it is said, the same manners with all other nations in a barbarous state. Lycurgus did no more than arrest them in that state, by forming their usages into laws. He checked them at once in the first stage of their improvement. " He put forth a bold " hand to that spring which is in society, and " stopt its motion."

3. This theory, however ingenious, is confuted by facts. All ancient authors agree, that Lycurgus operated a total change on the Spartan manners, and on the constitution of his country; while the moderns have discovered that he made no change on eitner. The most striking features of the manners and constitution of Sparta have not the smallest resemblance to those of any rude nations with which we are acquainted. The communion of slaves, and of many other species of property, the right of the state in the children of all the citizens, their common education, the public tables, the equal division of lands, the oath of government between the kings and people, have no parallel in the history of any barbarous nations.

4. The real history of Sparta and its constitution is therefore not to be found in modern

theory, but in the writings of the Greek historians, and these are our sole authorities worthy of credit.

After the return of the Heraclidæ, Sparta was divided between the two sons of Aristodemus, Eurysthenes and Procles, who jointly reigned; and this double monarchy, transmitted to the descendants of each, continued in the separate branches for nearly 900 years. A radical principle of disunion, and consequent anarchy, made the want of constitutional laws be severely felt. Lycurgus, brother of Polydectes, one of the kings of Sparta, a man distinguished alike by his abilities and virtues, was invested, by the concurring voice of the sovereigns and people, with the important duty of reforming and new modelling the constitution of his country, 884 B. C.

5. Lycurgus instituted a senate elective, of twenty-eight members; whose office was to preserve a just balance between the power of the kings and that of the people. Nothing could come before the assembly of the people which had not received the previous consent of the senate; on the other hand, no judgment of the senate was effectual without the sanction of the people. The kings presided in the senate;

they were the generals of the republic; but they could plan no enterprise without the consent of a council of the citizens.

6. Lycurgus bent his attention most particularly to the regulation of manners; and one great principle pervaded his whole system; — luxury is the bane of society.

He divided the territory of the republic into 39,000 equal portions, among the whole of its free citizens; [and he seems to have had it in view to keep the population within these precise limits by continual warfare, the establishment of colonies, restraints upon the sale of land, the exposure of infants, and destruction of slaves.]

He substituted iron money for gold and silver, prohibited the practice of commerce, abolished all useless arts, and allowed even those necessary to life to be practised only by the slaves. [Strangers were as much as possible excluded by a particular law, lest they should introduce bad customs, soft manners, or vicious habits.]

The whole [of the] citizens, [young and old,] made their principal repast at the public tables. The meals were coarse and parsimonious; the conversation was fitted to improve the youth in virtue, and cultivate the patriotic spirit. [To exercise the judgment, and improve the reasoning

powers, questions were proposed to the young, on points connected either with politics or morals, to which they were expected to give the readiest and most direct replies, in brief and pithy sentences, without any circumvention or superfluity of words; — a form of discourse proverbially named after them, and preserved to this day in the term *laconic*.]

The Spartan education rejected all embellishments of the understanding. It nourished only the severer virtues. It taught the duties of religion, obedience to the laws, respect for parents, reverence for old age, inflexible honour, undaunted courage, contempt of danger and of death: — above all, the love of glory and of their country.

7. But the general excellence of the institutions of Lycurgus was impaired by many blemishes. The manners of the Lacedæmonian women were shamefully loose. They frequented the baths, and fought naked in the Palæstra promiscuously with the men, [the ostensible motive being, to strengthen their bodies that they might produce a vigorous and manly offspring.] Theft was a part of Spartan education. The youth were taught to subdue the feelings of humanity; the slaves were treated with the most barbarous

rigour, and often massacred for sport. The institutions of Lycurgus had no other end than to form a nation of hardy soldiers.

8. A faulty part of the constitution of Sparta was the office of the Ephori; magistrates elected by the people, whose power, though in some respects subordinate, was in others paramount to that of the kings and senate. [They were in number five: their office was annual: in every instance they acted as public censors, and, as might naturally be expected, often very capriciously; while the limited period of their office naturally led them, like the consuls at Rome, to engage in some enterprise to distinguish the year of their magistracy, and this impatience and desire to do something, often ended, as might be expected, in some rash and precipitate measure.]

X.

THE REPUBLIC OF ATHENS.

1. On the abolition of the regal office at Athens, the change of the constitution was more nominal than real. The archonship was, during three centuries, a perpetual and here-

ditary magistracy. In 754 B. C. this office became decennial. In 648 the archons were annually elected, and were nine in number, with equal authority. Under all these changes, the state was convulsed, and the condition of the people miserable.

2. Draco, elevated to the archonship 624 B. C., projected a reform in the constitution of his country, and thought to repress disorders by the extreme severity of penal laws. But his talents were unequal to the task he had undertaken. [Had his laws prevailed, the character of the people would have been rendered more barbarous than ever; but, in fact, they were impracticable.]

3. Solon, an illustrious Athenian, of the race of Codrus, attained the dignity of archon 594 B. C., and was intrusted with the care of framing for his country a new form of government, and a new system of laws. He possessed extensive knowledge, but wanted that intrepidity of mind which is necessary to the character of a great statesman. His disposition was mild and temporising; and, without attempting to reform the manners of his countrymen, he accommodated his system to their prevailing habits and passions. [Had he trusted more to his

own talents for legislating, he might have conferred much benefit on the state.]

4. The people claimed the sovereign power, and they received it: the rich demanded offices and dignities: the system of Solon accommodated them to the utmost of their wishes. He divided the citizens into four classes, according to the measure of their wealth. To the three first, the richer citizens, belonged all the offices of the commonwealth. The fourth, the poorer class, more numerous than all the other three, had [a deliberative voice and] an equal right of suffrage with them in the public assembly, where all laws were framed and measures of state decreed. Consequently the weight of the latter decided every question.

5. To regulate in some degree the proceedings of those assemblies, and balance the weight of the popular interest, Solon instituted a senate of 400 members, (afterwards enlarged to 500, and 600,) with whom it was necessary that every measure should originate before it became the subject of discussion in the assembly of the people.

6. To the court of Areopagus, [which under Draco had lost much of its original weight and importance,] he committed the guardianship of

the laws and the power of enforcing them, with the supreme administration of justice. To this tribunal belonged likewise the custody of the treasures of the state, the care of religion, and a tutorial power over all the youth of the republic. the number of its judges was various at different periods, and the most immaculate purity of character was essential to that high office. [They were, according to the laws of Solon, to be entirely chosen from those who had previously discharged, with credit and reputation, the duties of archon.]

7. The authority of the senate and Areopagus imposed some check on the popular assemblies; but as these possessed the ultimate right of decision, [and an appellant jurisdiction above the senate,] it was always in the power of ambitious demagogues to sway them to the worst of purposes. Continual factions divided the people, and corruption pervaded every department of the state. The public measures, the result of the interested schemes of individuals, were often equally absurd as they were profligate. Athens often saw her best patriots, the wisest and most virtuous of her citizens, shamefully sacrificed to the most depraved and most abandoned.

8. The particular laws of the Athenian state

are more deserving of encomium than its form of government. The laws relating to debtors were mild and equitable, as were those which regulated the treatment of slaves.—But the vassalage of women, or their absolute subjection to the control of their nearest relations, approached too near to a state of servitude. The proposer of a law, found on experience impolitic, was liable to punishment; an enactment apparently rigorous, but probably necessary in a popular government. [In cases of public commotion, every person was bound to take a part, with a view that all who were wise might be brought forward to stem the torrent of popular distraction, and that no secret influence, the most dangerous weapon in all conspiracies, might screen from public notice the prime mover in such disturbances.]

9. One most iniquitous and absurd peculiarity of the Athenian, and some other governments of Greece, was the practice of the *Ostracism*, a ballot of all the citizens, in which each wrote down [upon a shell (whence the term of *Ostracism*)] the name of the person in his opinion most obnoxious to censure; and he who was thus marked out by the greatest number of voices, though unimpeached of any crime, was banished for

ten years from his country. This barbarous and disgraceful institution, ever capable of the grossest abuse, and generally subservient to the worst of purposes, has stained the character of Athens with many flagrant instances of public ingratitude. [The author of it, and the precise period of its commencement, are equally unknown.]

10. The manners of the Athenians formed the most striking contrast to those of the Lacedæmonians. The arts were, at Athens, in the highest esteem; the Lacedæmonians despised the arts, and all who cultivated them. [At Athens, nature was outraged by the too free indulgence of every licentious propensity: the Lacedæmonians thwarted nature, by checking and obstructing the force and influence of every tender feeling.] At Athens, peace was the natural state of the republic, and the refined enjoyment of life the aim of all its subjects: Sparta was entirely a military establishment; her subjects, when unengaged in war, were totally unoccupied. Luxury was the character of the Athenian, as frugality of the Spartan. They were equally jealous of their liberty, and equally brave in war. The courage of the Spartan sprung from constitutional ferocity, that of the

Athenian from the principle of honour. [Had the two characters been blended in either state, the consequences would probably have been most beneficial; manliness and refinement, so far from being opposed to, being admirable correctives of each other.]

11. The Spartan government had acquired solidity, while all the rest of Greece was torn by domestic dissensions. — Athens, a prey to faction and civil disorder, surrendered her liberties to Pisistratus, 560 B. C.; who, after various turns of fortune, established himself firmly in the sovereignty, exercised a splendid and munificent dominion, completely gained the affections of the people, and transmitted a peaceable crown to his sons Hippias and Hipparchus. [Solon, unable to bear the sight of his country's subjection, died, at an advanced age, in a state of self-banishment.]

12. Hermodias and Aristogiton undertook to restore the democracy; and succeeded in the attempt [against the sons of Pisistratus]. Hipparchus was put to death; and Hippias, dethroned, solicited a foreign aid to replace him in the sovereignty. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, meditated at this time the conquest of Greece. Hippias took advantage of the views of an enemy

against his native country, and Greece was now involved in a war with Persia.

XI.

OF THE STATE OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, AND ITS HISTORY DOWN TO THE WAR WITH GREECE.

1. THE first empire of the Assyrians ended under Sardanapalus; and three monarchies arose from its ruins, — Nineveh, Babylon, and the kingdom of the Medes.

2. The history of Babylon and of Nineveh is very imperfectly known. The Medes, hitherto independent tribes, were united [by their own choice and consent, under a monarchy in the person of Dejoces; a just, wise, and upright magistrate, in very corrupt and bad times. He it was who built the famous city of Ecbatana, and for the space of forty years so exercised the regal authority as to be accounted a blessing to his country.] His son Phraortes conquered Persia, but was himself vanquished by Nabuchodonoser I., king of Assyria, and put to death. Nabuchodonoser II. led the Jews into captivity, took Jerusalem and Tyre, and subdued Egypt.

3. The history of Cyrus is involved in great uncertainty; nor is it possible to reconcile or apply to one man the different accounts given of him by Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon. Succeeding his father Cambyses in the throne of Persia, and his uncle Cyaxares in the sovereignty of the Medes, he united these empires, vanquished the Babylonians and Lydians, subjected the greatest part of the Lesser Asia, and made himself master of Syria and Arabia.

4. He was succeeded by his son Cambyses, distinguished only as a tyrant and a madman.

5. After the death of Cambyses, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was elected sovereign of Persia, a prince of great enterprise and ambition. Unfortunate in a rash expedition against the Scythians, he projected and achieved the conquest of India. Inflated with success, he now meditated an invasion of Greece, and cordially entered into the views of Hippias, who sought, by his means, to regain the sovereignty of Athens.

6. *Government, Manners, Laws, &c. of the Ancient Persians.*—The government of Persia was an absolute monarchy: the will of the sovereign being subject to no control, and his person revered as sacred; yet the education

bestowed by those monarchs on their children was calculated to inspire every valuable quality of a sovereign.

The ancient Persians in general bestowed the utmost attention on the education of youth. Children at the age of five were committed to the care of the Magi, for the improvement of their mind and morals. They were trained at the same time to every manly exercise. The sacred books of the *Zendavesta* promised to every worthy parent the imputed merit and reward of all the good actions of his children.

7. Luxurious as they were in after-times, the early Persians were distinguished for their temperance, bravery, and virtuous simplicity of manners. They were all trained to the use of arms, and displayed great intrepidity in war, [upheld by the confidence so prevalent in the East, that all who died in the field were sure of future happiness.] The custom of the women following their armies to the field, erroneously attributed to effeminacy, was a remnant of barbarous manners, [but, as might naturally be expected, it was attended with great inconveniences.]

8. The kingdom of Persia was divided into several provinces, each under a governor or

satrap, who was accountable to the sovereign for the whole of his conduct. The prince, at stated times, visited his provinces in person, correcting all abuses, easing the burdens of the oppressed, and encouraging agriculture and the practice of the useful arts. [When the sovereign did not personally interpose, a constant communication with the most distant parts of the empire was carried on by means of couriers, in the manner of our posts. Cyrus has the credit of being the author of this establishment, which was but slowly adopted in the western parts of the world.] The laws of Persia were mild and equitable, and the utmost purity was observed in the administration of justice.

9. The religion of the ancient Persians is of great antiquity. It is conjectured that there were two Zoroasters; the first, the founder of this ancient religion, and of whom are recorded miracles and prophecies; the second, a reformer of that religion, contemporary with Darius the son of Hystaspes. The *Zendavesta*, or sacred book, compiled by the former, was improved and purified by the latter. It has been lately translated into French by M. Anquetil, and appears to contain, amidst a mass of absurdity, some sublime truths, and excellent precepts of

morality. The theology of the *Zendavesta* is founded on the doctrine of two opposite principles, a good and an evil, Ormusd and Ahriman, eternal beings who divide between them the government of the universe, and whose warfare must endure till the end of 12,000 years, when the good will finally prevail over the evil. A separation will ensue of the votaries of each: the just shall be admitted to the immediate enjoyment of paradise; the wicked, after a limited purification by fire, shall ultimately be allowed to partake in the blessings of eternity. Ormusd is to be adored through the medium of his greatest works, the sun, moon, and stars. The fire, the symbol of the sun, the air, the earth, the water, have their subordinate worship.

The morality of the *Zendavesta* is best known from its abridgment the *Sadder*, compiled about three centuries ago by the modern Guebres. It inculcates a chastened species of Epicurism; allowing a free indulgence of the passions, while consistent with the welfare of society. It prohibits equally intemperance and ascetic mortification. It recommends, as precepts of religion, the cultivation of the earth, the planting of fruit-trees, the destruction of noxious animals, the bringing water to a barren land.

10. Such were the ancient Persians. But their character had undergone a great change before the period of the war with Greece. At this time they were a degenerate and corrupted people. Athens had recently thrown off the yoke of the Pisistratidæ, and highly valued her new liberty. Sparta, in the ardour of patriotism, forgot all jealousy of her rival state, and cordially united in the defence of their common country. The Persians, in this contest, had no other advantage than that of numbers, an unequal match for superior heroism and military skill.

XII.

THE WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND PERSIA.

1. The ambition of Darius the son of Hystaspes, heightened by the passion of revenge, gave rise to the project of that monarch for the invasion of Greece. The Athenians [offended by the countenance given by the Persians and Spartans to Hippias, the banished son of Pisistratus,] had aided the people of Ionia in an attempt to throw of the yoke of Persia, and burnt and ravaged Sardis, the capital of Lydia. Darius [quickly] reduced the Ionians to submis-

sion, and then turned his arms against the Greeks, their allies; the exile Hippias eagerly prompting the expedition.

2. After an insolent demand of submission, which the Greeks scornfully refused, Darius began a hostile attack both by sea and land. The first Persian fleet was wrecked in doubling the promontory of Athos; a second, of 600 sail, ravaged the Grecian islands; while an immense army, landing in Eubœa, poured down with impetuosity on Attica. The Athenians met them on the plain of Marathon, and, headed by Miltiades, [who had nobly proposed that the enemy should be intercepted on its march to Athens,] defeated them with prodigious slaughter, 490 B. C. The loss of the Persians in this battle was 6300, that of the Athenians 190.

3. The merit of Miltiades, signally displayed in this great battle, was repaid by his country with the most shocking ingratitude. Accused of treason for an unsuccessful attack on the Isle of Paros, his sentence of death was commuted into a fine of fifty talents; which being unable to pay, he was thrown into prison, and there died of his wounds.

4. The glory of ungrateful Athens was yet nobly sustained in the Persian war by Themistocles

and Aristides, [though the latter had as much to allege against his countrymen as Miltiades himself.] Darius dying, was succeeded by his son Xerxes, the heir of his father's ambition, but not of his abilities. He armed, as is said, five millions of men, 1200 ships of war, and 3000 ships of burden, [primarily] for the conquest of Greece, [but ultimately, as it is alleged, of all Europe, having expended four years in his preparations.] Landing in Thessaly, he proceeded, by rapid marches, to Thermopylæ, a narrow defile on the *Sinus Maliacus*, [the key of Greece, where, when he arrived, the too careless Greeks were celebrating the Carnian and Olympic games. Nevertheless,] the Athenians and Spartans, aided only by the Thespians, Platæans, and Æginetes, determined to withstand the invader. Leonidas, king of Sparta, was chosen to defend this important pass with 6000 men. Xerxes, after a weak attempt to corrupt him, imperiously summoned him to lay down his arms. *Let him come*, said Leonidas, *and take them.* For two days the Persians in vain strove to force their way, and were repeatedly repulsed with great slaughter. An unguarded track being at length discovered, the defence of the pass became a fruitless attempt on the part of the Greeks.

Leonidas, foreseeing certain destruction, commanded all to retire but 300 of his countrymen. His motive was to give the Persians a just idea of the spirit of that foe whom they had to encounter. He, with his brave Spartans, were all cut off to a man, 480 B. C. A monument, erected on the spot, bore this noble inscription, written by Simonides: *O stranger, tell it at Lacedæmon, that we died here in obedience to her laws.**

5. The Persians poured down upon Attica. The inhabitants of Athens, after conveying their women and children to the islands for security, [on an artful but successful suggestion, of Themistocles, in the interpretation of an oracle,] betook themselves to their fleet, abandoning [with a profusion of tears and lamentations] the city, which the Persians pillaged and burnt. The fleet of the Greeks, consisting of 378 sail, was attacked in the straits of Salamis, by that of the Persians, amounting to 1200 ships. Xerxes himself beheld from an eminence on the coast the total discomfiture of his squadron. He then

* Ω ξειν', αγγειλον Λακεδαιμονειοις, οτι τηδε Κειμεθα, τοις κεινων ρημασι πειθομενοι.

The Spartan laws were called ρηματα, as dictated by the oracle of Apollo.

fled with precipitation across the Hellespont, [alarmed by a false report that his bridge of boats was about to be destroyed.] A second overthrow awaited his army by land: for Mardonius, at the head of 300,000 Persians, was totally defeated at Platæa by the combined army of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, [under the command of Pausanias,] 479 B. C. On the same day the Greeks engaged and destroyed the remains of the Persian fleet at Mycale. From that day the ambitious schemes of Xerxes were at an end; and his inglorious life was soon after terminated by assassination. He was succeeded in the throne of Persia by his son Artaxerxes Longimanus, 464 B. C.

6. At this time the national character of the Greeks was at its highest elevation. The common danger had annihilated all partial jealousies between the states, and given them union as a nation. But with the cessation of danger those jealousies recommenced. Sparta meanly opposed the rebuilding of deserted Athens. — Athens, rising again into splendour, saw with pleasure the depopulation of Sparta by an earthquake, and hesitated to give her aid in that juncture of calamity against a rebellion of her slaves.

7. Cimon, the son of Miltiades, after expelling the Persians from Thrace, attacked and destroyed their fleet on the coast of Pamphylia, and, landing his troops, gained a signal victory over their army the same day. — Supplanted in the public favour by the arts of his rival Pericles, he suffered a temporary exile; to return only with higher popularity, [on the motion of Pericles himself,] and to signalize himself more [than ever] in the service of his ungrateful country. He attacked and totally destroyed the Persian fleet of 300 sail; and, landing in Cilicia, completed his triumph, by defeating 300,000 Persians under Megabyzus, 460 B. C. Artaxerxes now had the prudence to sue for peace, which was granted by the Greeks on terms most honourable to the nation. They stipulated for the freedom of all the Grecian cities of Asia, and that the fleets of Persia should not approach their coasts from the Euxine to the extreme boundary of Pamphylia. The last fifty years were the period of the highest glory of the Greeks; and they owed their prosperity entirely to their union. The peace with Persia dissolving that connection brought back the jealousies between the predominant states, the intestine disorders of each, and the national weakness.

8. The martial and the patriotic spirit began visibly to decline in Athens. An acquaintance with Asia, and an importation of her wealth, introduced a relish for Asiatic manners and luxuries. With the Athenians, however, this luxurious spirit was under the guidance of taste and genius. It led to the cultivation of the finer arts; and the age of Pericles, though the national glory was in its wane, is the era of the highest internal splendour and magnificence of Greece.

XIII.

AGE OF PERICLES.

1. Republics, equally with monarchies, are generally regulated by a single will: only, in the former, there is a more frequent change of masters.—Pericles, [who by great art had raised himself to the head of affairs,] ruled Athens with little less than arbitrary sway; and Athens pretended at this time to the command of Greece. She held the allied states in the most absolute subjection, and lavished their subsidies, bestowed for the national defence, in magnificent build-

ings, games, and festivals, for her own citizens. The tributary states loudly complained, [that what was paid for the defence and benefit of the country at large should be spent in the embellishment of only one city; but they] durst not call this domineering republic to account; and the war of Peloponnesus, dividing the nation into two great parties, bound the lesser cities to the strictest subordination on the predominant powers.

2. The state of Corinth had been included in the last treaty between Athens and Sparta. The Corinthians waging war with the people of Corcyra, an ancient colony of their own, both parties solicited the aid of Athens, who took part with the latter; a measure which the Corinthians complained of, not only as an infraction of the treaty with Sparta, but as a breach of a general rule of the national policy, that no foreign power should interfere in the disputes between a colony and its parent state. War was proclaimed on this ground between Athens and Lacedæmon, each supported by its respective allies. The detail of the war, which continued for twenty-eight years, with various and alternate success, is to be found in Thucydides. Pericles died before its termination; a splendid

ornament of his country, but reproached as a corrupter of her manners, by fostering the spirit of luxury. [The charge, indeed, cannot perhaps be got over, but it may fairly be observed in vindication of his fame, that the luxury he introduced was of no common stamp. It was conducive to the improvement of the public taste, the promotion of the fine arts, and even the encouragement of science. Amidst the most costly display of the matchless works of a Phidias, the splendour of public festivals, and the attractions of theatrical entertainments, philosophy pursued her more quiet course in the groves of the Lyceum, and the covered walks of Academæ; while history was embellished, illustrated, and immortalised by the pens of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon: nor can Pericles be charged with any narrow or selfish views; it was not so much his own glory, as the glory of his country, and the lustre and prosperity of Athens, that were the real objects of his extravagancies. Had he been only profuse and not licentious, his administration might be looked back to as in all respects a truly brilliant era, in the history of the world; and if we cannot clear him of the charge of corrupting the morals of his countrymen, some

contemporaries, who having the possession of the public ear, to a degree unknown before, should have inculcated principles of a more exalted nature.] Alcibiades ran a career, [similar to that of Pericles,] with equal talents, equal ambition, and still less purity of moral principle. In the interval of a truce with Sparta, he inconsiderately, [and in defiance of much opposition, particularly from Nicias,] projected the conquest of Sicily; and failing in the attempt, [as might naturally have been expected from the disagreement amongst the commanders,] was recalled to Athens; [he managed, indeed, to escape from the hands of those who were conducting him thither, but was nevertheless] condemned to death for treason. He hesitated not to wreak his vengeance against his country, by selling his services, first to Sparta, and afterwards to Persia. Finally, he purchased his peace with his country, by betraying the power which protected him, and returned to Athens, [which, it must be acknowledged, had fallen into great difficulties and confusion in his absence,] the idol of a populace as versatile as worthless.

3. A fatal defeat of the Athenian fleet at Ægos Potamos, by Lysander, reduced Athens to the last extremity; and the Lacedæmonians

blockaded the city by land and sea, [after a desperate resistance, even under the pressure of famine.] The war was ended by the absolute submission of the Athenians, who agreed to demolish their port, to limit their fleet to twelve ships, and undertake for the future no military enterprise, but under command of the Lacedæmonians, 405 B.C. [and little more than seventy-five years after the battle of Salamis, to which the Lacedæmonians are said to have had so much respect, and to the glorious struggle of the Athenians against the Persians, as to resolve to spare and preserve the city, contrary to the wishes, and even earnest desire, of the Corinthians and Bœotians their allies.]

4. It is to the same Lysander, who terminated the Peloponnesian war so gloriously for Lacedæmon, that history ascribes the first great breach of the constitution of his country, by the introduction of gold into that republic. — Lysander, after the reduction of Athens, abolished the popular government in that state, and substituted in its place thirty tyrants, whose power was absolute, [and who exercised that power in so arbitrary and unjust a manner, that] the most eminent of the citizens fled from their country; but a band of [these fugitive] patriots,

[who had been barbarously refused shelter by the Spartans,] headed by Thrasybulus, attacked, vanquished, and expelled the usurpers, and once more re-established the democracy.

5. One event which happened at this time reflected more disgrace on the Athenian name than their national humiliation: this was the persecution and death of Socrates, a philosopher who was himself the patron of every virtue which he taught. The sophists, whose futile logic he derided and exposed, represented him as an enemy to the religion of his country, because, without regard to the popular superstitions, he led the mind to the knowledge of a Supreme Being, the Creator and ruler of the universe, and the belief of a future state of retribution. His defence he made himself, with the manly fortitude of conscious innocence; but in vain: his judges were his personal enemies; and he was condemned to die by poison, 397 B. C. (See Section XXIII. § 5.) [The Athenians, it is true, soon repented of their error, punished his accusers and their abettors, and did honour to his memory, but too late, as was generally the case with that hasty, fickle, and inconstant people. Not many years after the death of Socrates, Phocion suffered in the same ignominious man-

ner; being barbarously and ungratefully condemned to die, forced to drink the deadly poison, and yet, soon afterwards, honoured with a public statue to commemorate his worth and important services.]

6. On the death of Darius Nothus, his eldest son, Artaxerxes Mnemon, [so called on account of his extraordinary memory,] succeeded to the empire of Persia. His younger brother, Cyrus, [commanding in Asia Minor, after having conspired to have him assassinated at his inauguration, being pardoned, and restored to his government,] formed the project of dethroning him; and, with the aid of 13,000 Greeks, [whom he had seduced to join his own army of 100,000, Cyrus marched to engage his brother,] near Babylon, but was defeated and slain; a just reward of his most culpable enterprise [and inordinate ambition.] The remainder of the Grecian army, to the amount of 10,000, under the command of Xenophon, made a most amazing retreat, traversing a hostile country of 1600 miles in extent, from Babylon to the banks of the Euxine, [continually attacked, but always victorious, and finally reaching their own country by the Hellespont.] Xenophon has beautifully written the history of this expedition; but has

painted the character of Cyrus in too flattering colours, and without the smallest censure of his criminal ambition.

7. The Greek cities of Asia had taken part with Cyrus. Sparta was engaged to defend her countrymen, and consequently was involved in a war with Persia. Had Athens added her strength, the Greeks might have once more defied the power of Asia; but jealousy kept the states divided, and even hostile to each other; and the gold of Artaxerxes excited a general league in Greece against Lacedæmon. Agesilaus, King of Sparta, [who owed his elevation to that dignity entirely to his own merit,] sustained, for a considerable time, the honour of his country, and won some important battles in Asia; but others were lost in Greece; and a naval defeat near Cnidos utterly destroyed the Lacedæmonian fleet. Finally, to escape total destruction, the Spartans sued for peace, and obtained it, by the sacrifice to Persia of all the Asiatic colonies, 387 B. C. Artaxerxes further demanded, obtained, [and secured to] his allies the Athenians the [possession of the] islands of Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros. A disgraceful treaty; a mortifying picture of the humiliation of the Greeks,

[and, above all, of the fatal effects of discord and political rivalry.]

XIV.

THE REPUBLIC OF THEBES.

1. WHILE Athens and Sparta were thus visibly tending to decline, the Theban Republic emerged from obscurity, and rose for a time to a degree of splendour eclipsing all its contemporary states. The Republic was divided by faction, one party supporting its ancient democracy, and the other aiming at the establishment of an oligarchy. The latter courted the aid of the Spartans, who embraced that occasion to take possession of the citadel [in a manner by no means honourable]. Four hundred of the exiled Thebans fled for protection to Athens. Among these was Pelopidas, [a man of family and wealth, brave and enterprising,] who planned and accomplished the deliverance of his country. Disguising himself and twelve of his friends as peasants, he entered Thebes in the evening, and joining a patriotic party of the citizens, they surprised t[redacted] amid the

tumult of a feast, and put them all to death. Epaminondas, the friend of Pelopidas, [but a man of very different habits, in moderate circumstances, and much given to study, yet brave and generous,] shared with him in the glory of this enterprise; and attacking, with the aid of 5000 Athenians, the Lacedæmonian garrison, drove them entirely out of the Theban territory.

2. A war necessarily ensued between Thebes and Sparta, in which the former had the aid of Athens. This, however, was but for a season. Thebes singly opposed the power of Sparta, and the league of Greece; but Epaminondas and Pelopidas were her generals. The latter, amidst a career of glory, perished in an expedition against the tyrant of Pheræa. Epaminondas, triumphant at Leuctra and Mantinea, fell in that last engagement, and with him expired the glory of his country, 363 B. C. Athens and Sparta were humbled at the battle of Mantinea. Thebes was victorious; but she was undone by the death of Epaminondas. All parties were tired of the war; and Artaxerxes, more powerful among those infatuated states than in his own dominions, dictated the terms of the treaty. It was stipulated, that each power should retain what it possessed; and that the lesser states,

now free from the yoke of the greater, should remain so.

XV.

PHILIP OF MACEDON.

1. GREECE was now in the most abject situation: the spirit of patriotism appeared utterly extinct, and military glory at an end. Athens seemed to have lost all ambition: the pleasures of luxury had entirely supplanted heroic virtue: poets, musicians, sculptors, and comedians, were now the only great men of Attica. Sparta, no less changed from the simplicity of her ancient manners, and her power abridged by the new independency of the states of Peloponnesus, was in no capacity to attempt a recovery of her former greatness. In this situation, [so favourable to the attempts of any person of genius and enterprise,] Philip of Macedon formed the ambitious project of bringing under his dominion the whole of Greece: [having been delivered up by his father as an hostage to the Thebans, he had had an opportunity of learning the art of war under Epaminondas.]

2. He had mounted the throne of Macedon

[at an early age, and] by popular choice, in violation of the natural right of the nearer heirs to the crown; and he secured his power by the success of his arms against the Illyrians, Pæonians, and Athenians, who espoused the interest of his competitors. Uniting to great military talents the most consummate artifice and address, [and having great revenues at his command, from the mines of Macedonia and Thrace,] he had his pensionaries in all the states of Greece, who directed to his advantage every public measure; [he knew how to proceed with caution, and to wait for favourable events.] The miserable policy of the Grecian states, embroiled in perpetual quarrels, co-operated with his designs, [and Athens itself had degenerated so far as to have become a prey to corruption.] A sacrilegious attempt of the Phocians to plunder the temple of Delphos [under circumstances, however, of no small provocation,] excited the *Sacred War*, in which almost all the republics took a part; and Philip's aid being courted by the Thebans and Thessalians, he began hostilities by invading Phocis, the key to the territory of Attica. Æschines the orator, bribed to his interest, attempted to quiet the alarms of the Athenians, by ascribing to Philip a design only of punishing

sacrilege and vindicating the cause of Apollo. Demosthenes, with true patriotism, exposed the artful designs of the invader, and with the most animated eloquence roused his countrymen to a vigorous effort for the preservation of the national liberties. But the event was unsuccessful. The battle of Cheronæa, fought 337 B.C., decided the fate of Greece, and subjected all her states to the dominion of the King of Macedon. But it was not his policy to treat them as a conquered people. They retained their separate and independent governments, while he controlled and directed all the national measures. [To which rule and authority nothing contributed more than his being chosen, on the dispossession of the Phocians, head of the Amphictyonic council.] Convoking a general council of the states, Philip was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of Greece; and he laid before them his project for the conquest of Persia, appointing each republic to furnish its proportional subsidies. On the eve of this great enterprise, [while celebrating the nuptials of his daughter Cleopatra,] Philip was assassinated by Pausanias, a captain of his guards, 336 B. C., in revenge of a private injury, [as some allege; though it seems certain that his son attributed it

to bribery, and Persian instigation, according to his letter to be seen in Arrian.] The Athenians, on the death of Philip, meanly expressed the most tumultuous joy, in the hope of a recovery of their liberty [Demosthenes himself descending so low, as to propose giving a crown to the assassin]; but this visionary prospect was never realised. The spirit of the nation was gone; and in their subsequent revolutions they only changed their masters.

XVI.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

1. ALEXANDER, the son of Philip, succeeded, at the age of twenty, to the throne of Macedon, and, after a few successful battles against the revolted states, to the command of Greece. [He had profited by his education under Aristotle, as well as by the instructions he received from his father, so that he was in all respects a most accomplished prince, having a great genius both for politics and war; well versed in philosophy, and much addicted to letters.] Assembling the deputies of the nation at Corinth, he communicated to them his resolution of prosecuting

the designs of his father for the conquest of Persia.

2. With an army of 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse, the sum of 70 talents, and provisions only for a single month, he crossed the Hellespont, and, in traversing Phrygia, visited the tomb of Achilles. Darius Codomannus, resolving to crush at once this inconsiderate youth, met him on the banks of the Granicus with 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, [according to Diodorus Siculus; but Arrian makes them 20,000 horse, and the same number of foot.] The Greeks swam the river, [the banks of which were steep, and the stream rapid.] Their king leading the van, and attacking the astonished Persians, left 20,000 dead upon the field, and put to flight their whole army. Drawing from his first success a presage of continued victory, Alexander now sent home his fleet, leaving to his army the sole alternative, that they must subdue Asia or perish. Prosecuting their course for some time without resistance, the Greeks were attacked by the Persians in a narrow valley of Cilicia, near the town of Issus. The Persian host amounted to 400,000; but [numbers could not compensate the want of order and discipline, and] their situation being such that only a small part could come into action,

they were defeated with prodigious slaughter. The loss of the Persians in this battle was 110,000, that of the Greeks (according to Q. Curtius) only 450.

3. The history of Alexander by Quintus Curtius, though a most elegant composition, is extremely suspicious on the score of authentic information. Arrian is the best authority. [Besides an excellent judgment displayed in the composition of his history, he seems to have enjoyed the advantage of deriving his information from those who were well able to furnish him with the facts, such as they really were.]

4. The generosity of Alexander was displayed after the battle of Issus, in his attention to his noble prisoners, the mother, the wife and family of Darius. To the credit of Alexander, it must be owned that humanity, however overpowered, and at times extinguished by his passions, certainly formed a part of his natural character.

5. The consequence of the battle of Issus was the submission of all Syria. Damascus, where Darius had deposited his chief treasures, was betrayed and given up by its governor. The Phœnicians were pleased to see themselves thus avenged for the oppression they had suffered under the yoke of Persia.

6. Alexander had hitherto borne his good fortune with moderation: *Felix*, says Curtius, *si hac continentia ad ultimum vitæ perseverare potuisset; sed nondum Fortuna se animo ejus infuderat.* [Being desirous, as it has been supposed, of keeping up his communication with the sea, in consequence of some intelligence he had picked up at Damascus,] he directed his course towards Tyre, and desired admittance to perform a sacrifice to Hercules. The Tyrians shut their gates, and maintained for seven months a noble defence. The city was at length taken by storm; and the victor glutted his revenge by the inhuman massacre of 8000 of the inhabitants. The fate of Gaza, gloriously defended by Bætis, was equally deplorable to its citizens, and more disgraceful to the conqueror. Ten thousand of the former were sold into slavery, and its brave defender dragged at the wheels of the victor's chariot: *Gloriante rege, Achillem, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse, pœna in hostem capienda.* Curt.

7. The taking of Gaza opened Egypt to Alexander, and the whole country submitted without opposition. Amidst the most incredible fatigues, he now led his army through the deserts of Lybia, to visit the temple of his father *Jupiter*

Ammon. On his return he built Alexandria, at the mouth of the Nile, afterwards the capital of the Lower Egypt, and one of the most flourishing cities in the world; [in the choice of this site he gave a proof of his great judgment and policy, it being admirably fitted for a common emporium of commerce for the eastern and western worlds, by its two adjacent seas, the Mediterranean and Red Sea.] Twenty other cities of the same name were reared by him in the course of his conquests. It is such works as these that justly entitle the Macedonian to the epithet of Great. By rearing in the midst of deserts those nurseries of population and of industry, he repaired the waste and havoc of his conquests. But for those monuments of his glory, he would have merited no other epithet than that assigned him by the Brahmins of India, *The mighty Murderer.*

8. Returning from Egypt, [by the way of Tyre, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of all his forces,] Alexander traversed Assyria, and was met at Arbela by Darius, at the head of 700,000 men, [though historians differ largely in their accounts.] The Persian had proffered peace, consenting to yield the whole country from the Euphrates to the Hel-

lespont, to give Alexander his daughter in marriage, and the immense sum of 10,000 talents. But these terms were haughtily rejected, and peace refused but upon the unqualified submission of his enemy. The Persians were defeated at Arbela, with the loss of 300,000 men. Darius fled from province to province. At length, betrayed by Bessus, one of his own satraps, he was cruelly murdered; and the Persian empire, which had subsisted for 206 years from the time of Cyrus the Great, submitted to the conqueror, 330 B. C. [The treasures acquired by Alexander, in the course of his victories to this time, were immense, and have been estimated at more than ninety millions of our present money.]

9. Alexander now projected the conquest of India, firmly persuaded that the gods had decreed him the sovereignty of the whole habitable globe. He penetrated to the river [Hyphasis, and would have advanced to the Ganges and further, had the spirit of his army kept pace with his ambition: but his troops seeing no end to their toil, and deaf to all his tempting promises of wealth and glory in the rich and fertile provinces of Hindostan, refused to proceed; even his friends pressed him to relinquish all further conquests; so that he consented, at

length, to return] to the Indus, from whence; sending round his fleet to the Persian Gulf under Nearchus, he marched his army across the desert to Persepolis.

10. Indignant that he had found a limit to his conquests, he abandoned himself to every excess of luxury and debauchery. The arrogance of his nature, and the ardour of his passions, heightened by continual intemperance, broke out into the most outrageous excesses of cruelty, for which, in the few intervals of sober reflection, his ingenuous mind suffered the keenest remorse. From Persepolis he returned to Babylon, and there died, [some say in a fit of debauch, but according to Arrian, whom it is safest to follow, of a desperate fever,] in the thirty-third year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign, 324 B. C.

11. Of the character of Alexander the most opposite and contradictory estimates have been formed. While by some he is esteemed nothing better than a fortunate madman, he is by others celebrated for the grandeur, wisdom, and solidity of his political views. Truth is rarely to be found in extreme censure or applause. We may allow to Alexander the spirit and the talents of a great military genius, without combining with these the sober plans of a profound politician.

In a moral view of his character, we see an excellent and ingenuous nature corrupted at length by an unvarying current of success, and a striking example of the fatal violence of the passions, when eminence of fortune removes all restraint, and flattery stimulates to their uncontrolled indulgence.

[12. Some circumstances, however, seem clearly to prove, that though the termination of his expedition was highly disgraceful to him, he was, at the commencement of it, as desirous of acquiring the fame of being the patron of learning and of the arts, as of passing for the conqueror of the world: he had always persons in his suite particularly qualified to examine the interior of the countries he visited, as well as their coasts, cities, rivers, &c. All the rare and uncommon animals he met with were carefully transmitted to his preceptor, Aristotle. And the books and writings found at Tyre and Babylon, with many curious astronomical and hydrostatical observations, being removed to Alexandria, were the means of laying open to the Greeks the knowledge and learning of the Phœnicians and Chaldeans. The voyage of Nearchus, indeed, already spoken of, appears to have been expressly designed for a voyage of discovery and observation, conducive to the

establishment of a more direct trade between India and Alexander's European dominions. So that, all things considered, it seems but fair to conclude, leaving out of the question the mad excesses at Persepolis, which clouded and obscured the latter days of his short life, that the real character of Alexander as has been well observed, "would be much raised in the opinion of men of humanity, and philosophers, if the particulars we possess of his endeavours to improve the condition of those he conquered, and to advance the interests of science, scanty and imperfect as they are, were more attentively considered, and had not been neglected and overlooked in the glare of his military achievements."]

XVII.

SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

1. ALEXANDER, on his death-bed, named no successor, but gave his ring to Perdiccas, one of his officers. When his courtiers asked him to whom he wished the empire to devolve upon his death, he replied, "To the most worthy;" and he is said to have added, that he foresaw this

legacy would prepare for him very extraordinary funeral rites; a prediction which was fully verified.

2. Perdiccas, sensible that his pretensions would not justify a direct assumption of the government of this vast empire, brought about a division of the whole among thirty-three of the principal officers; and trusting to their inevitable dissensions, he proposed by that means to reduce all of them under his own authority. Hence arose a series of wars and intrigues, of which the detail is barren both of amusement and useful information. It is sufficient to say, that their consequence was a total extirpation of the family of Alexander, and a new partition of the empire into four great monarchies, the shares of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus: of these the most powerful were, that of Syria under Seleucus and his descendants; and that of Egypt under the Ptolemies. [The latter were decidedly the most worthy successors of the Macedonian conqueror, in carrying into execution his plans for the extension of commerce and navigation, promoting science, and conferring glory on his own city of Alexandria, the rival of Tyre, and, during the long space of eighteen

communication between India and Europe, as the founder seems to have intended.]

"We cannot (says Condillac) fix our attention on the history of the successors of Alexander, though a great theatre is opened to our view, a variety of scenes, and multiplied catastrophes. A picture is often displeasing from the very circumstance of its greatness. We lose the connection of its parts, because the eye cannot take them in at once. Still less will a large picture give us pleasure, if every part of it presents a different scene, each unconnected with the other." Such is the history of the successors of Alexander.

XVIII.

FALL AND CONQUEST OF GREECE.

1. Nor is the history of Greece from the period of the death of Alexander any longer an interesting or pleasing object of contemplation. Demosthenes once more made a noble attempt to vindicate the national freedom, and to rouse his countrymen, the Athenians, to shake off the yoke of Macedon. But it was too late. The

pacific counsels of Phocion suited better the languid spirit of this once illustrious people.

2. The history of the different republics presents from this time nothing but a disgusting series of uninteresting revolutions; with the exception only of that last effort made by the Achæan states to revive the expiring liberty of their country. The republic of Achaia was a league of a few of the smaller states to vindicate their freedom against the domineering spirit of the greater. They committed the government of the league to Aratus of Sicyon, with the title of Prætor, a young man of high ambition, who immediately conceived the more extensive project of rescuing the whole of Greece from the dominion of Macedon. But the jealousy of the greater states rendered this scheme abortive. Sparta refused to range herself under the guidance of the Prætor of Achaia; and Aratus, forgetting his patriotic designs, sought only now to wreak his vengeance against the Lacedæmonians. For this purpose, with the most inconsistent policy, he courted the aid even of the Macedonians; the very tyrants who had enslaved his country.

3. The period was now come for the intervention of a foreign power, which was to reduce

all under its wide-spreading dominion. The Romans were at this time the most powerful of all the contemporary nations. The people of Ætoli, attacked by the Macedonians, with a rash policy, besought the aid of the Romans, who, eager to add to their dominion this devoted country, cheerfully obeyed the summons, and speedily accomplished the reduction of Macedonia. Perseus, its last sovereign, was led captive to Rome, and graced the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, 167 B. C. From that period, the Romans were hastily advancing to the dominion of all Greece; a progress in which their art was more conspicuous than their virtue. They gained their end by fostering dissensions between the states, which they directed to their own advantage; corrupting their principal citizens, and using, in fine, every art of the most insidious policy. A pretext was only wanting to unsheath the sword; and this was furnished by the Achæan states, who insulted the deputies of imperial Rome. This drew on them at once the thunder of the Roman arms: Metellus marched his legions into Greece, gave them battle, and entirely defeated them. Mummius the consul terminated the work, and made an easy conquest of the whole of Greece, which

from that period became a Roman province, under the name of Achaia, 146 B. C.

4. Rome had acquired from her conquests a flood of wealth, and began now to manifest a taste for luxury, and a spirit of refinement. In these points Greece was to her conquerors an instructor and a model:

> Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio. ———

Hence, even though vanquished, she was regarded with a species of respect by her ruder masters.

XIX.

POLITICAL REFLECTIONS ARISING FROM THE HISTORY OF THE STATES OF GREECE.

1. THE revolutions which the states of Greece underwent, and the situations into which they were thrown by their connection and differences with each other, and their wars with foreign nations, were so various, that their history is a school of instruction in political science. The surest test of the truth or falsehood of abstract principles of politics is their application to actual experience and to the history of nations.

2. The oppression which the states of Greece suffered under their ancient despots, who were subject to no constitutional control, was a most justifiable motive for their establishing a new form of government, which promised them the enjoyment of greater political freedom. We believe, too, that those new forms of government were framed by their virtuous legislators in the true spirit of patriotism. But as to the real merits of those political fabrics, it is certain that they were very far from corresponding in practice with what was expected from them in theory. We seek in vain, either in the history of Athens or Lacedæmon, for the beautiful idea of a well-ordered commonwealth. The revolutions of government which they were ever experiencing, the eternal factions with which they were embroiled, plainly demonstrate that there was a radical defect in the structure of the machine, which precluded the possibility of regular motion. The condition of the people under those governments was such as partook more of servitude and oppression than that of the subjects of the most despotic monarchies. The slaves formed the actual majority of the inhabitants in all the states of Greece. To these, the free citizens were rigorous bond-masters; and bondage being a conse-

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quence of the contraction of debts even by a free man, a great proportion even of these were subject to the tyrannical control of their fellow-citizens. Nor were their richer classes in the actual enjoyment of independence. They were perpetually divided into factions, which servilely ranked themselves under the banners of the contending chiefs of the republic. Those parties were kept together solely by corruption. The whole was, therefore, a system of servility and debasement of spirit, which left nothing of a free or ingenuous nature in the condition of individuals, nor any thing that could furnish encomium to a real advocate for the dignity of human nature.

Such was the condition of the chief republics of antiquity. Their governments promised in theory, what they never conferred in practice, the political happiness of the citizens.

3. "In democracy (says Dr. Fergusson) men "must love equality; they must respect the "rights of their fellow-citizens; they must be "satisfied with that degree of consideration they "can procure by their abilities fairly measured "against those of an opponent; they must la-"bour for the public without hope of profit; "they must reject every attempt to create a

"personal dependence." — This is the picture of a republic in theory. If we reverse this picture in every single particular, and take its direct opposite, we shall have the true portrait of a republican government in practice. [We have, indeed, Aristotle's authority for asserting, that however opposite in principle and theory democracy and tyranny may appear, absolute democracy is tyranny.]

4. It is the fundamental theory of Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, that the three distinct forms of government, the monarchical, despotical, and republican, are influenced by the three separate principles of honour, fear, and virtue; and this theory is the foundation on which the author builds a great part of his political doctrines. That each of these principles is exclusively essential to its respective form of government, but unnecessary and even prejudicial in the others, is a position contrary both to reason and to truth. No form of government can subsist where every one of those principles has not its operation. The admission of such a theory leads to the most mischievous conclusions; as, for example, that in monarchies the state dispenses with virtue in its officers and magistrates; that public employments ought to

be venal; and that crimes, if kept secret, are of no consequence.

5. It is only in the infant periods of the Grecian history that we are to look for those splendid examples of patriotism and heroic virtue which the ardent mind of uncorrupted youth will ever delight to contemplate. The most remarkable circumstance which strikes us on comparing the later with the more early periods of the history of the Greeks, is the total change in the genius and spirit of the people. The ardour of patriotism, the thirst of military glory, the enthusiasm of liberty, decline with the rising grandeur and opulence of the nation: and an enthusiasm succeeds of another species, and far less worthy in its aim; an admiration of the fine arts, a violent passion for the objects of taste, and for the refinements of luxury.—This leads us to consider Greece in the light in which, after the loss of her liberty, she still continued to attract the admiration of other nations.

XX.

STATE OF THE ARTS IN GREECE.

1. It is not among the Greeks that we are to look for the greatest improvements in the useful

and necessary arts of life. In agriculture, manufactures, commerce, they never were greatly distinguished. [For their corn they were chiefly indebted to foreign countries; Sicily, Egypt, and the Crimea. Corinth seems to have abounded most in manufactures, particularly those of brass, (or that curious compound metal so called and named after the city,) coverlets for beds, and earthenware; the latter, for the most part, tastefully ornamented. Corinth was, also, the great mart for foreign commerce: their importations, in exchange for the manufactures above mentioned, consisting chiefly of paper and sail-cloth from Egypt; ivory from Lybia; leather from Cyrene; incense from Syria; dates from Phœnicia; carpets from Carthage; and fruit from Eubœa. Much of their traffic was carried on at their fairs, which took place commonly at the time of their public games and assemblies, all hostilities being suspended on those occasions, so as to allow merchants and others to pass with safety.] But, [if the Greeks depended much on others for the supply of their necessities,] in what are termed the Fine Arts, they surpassed all the contemporary nations; and the monuments of these which yet remain are the models of imitation, and the confessed standard of excellence,

in the judgment of the most polished nations of modern times.

2. After the defeat of Xerxes, the active spirit of the Athenians, which would have otherwise languished for want of an object, taking a new direction from luxury, displayed itself signally in all the works of taste in the fine arts. The administration of Pericles was the æra of luxury and splendour. The arts broke out at once with surprising lustre, and architecture, sculpture, and painting were carried to the summit of perfection. This golden age of the arts in Greece endured for about a century, till after the death of Alexander the Great.

3. The Greeks were the parents of that system of architecture which is universally allowed to be the most perfect.

The Greek architecture consisted of three distinct orders; the Doric, the Ionic, and Corinthian.

The Doric has a masculine grandeur, and a superior air of strength to both the others. It is, therefore, best adapted to works of great magnitude and of a sublime character. The character of sublimity is essentially connected with chasteness and simplicity. Of this order is the temple of Theseus at Athens, built ten

years after the battle of Marathon, and at this day almost entire.

The Ionic order is light and elegant. The former has a masculine grandeur; the latter a feminine elegance. The Ionic is likewise simple; for simplicity is an essential requisite in true beauty. Of this order were the temple of Apollo at Miletus, that of the Delphic oracle, and the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

The Corinthian marks an age of luxury and magnificence, when pomp and splendour had become the predominant passion, but had not yet extinguished the taste for the sublime and beautiful. It attempts, therefore, an union of all these characters, but satisfies not the chastened judgment, and pleases only a corrupted taste.

——————— "First unadorned,
"And nobly plain, the manly Doric rose;
"The Ionic then, with decent matron grace,
"Her airy pillar heaved; luxuriant last
"The rich Corinthian spread her wanton wreath."
THOMSON's *Liberty*, part 2.

4. The Tuscan and the Composite orders are of Italian origin. The Etruscan architecture appears to be nearly allied to the Grecian, but to possess an inferior degree of elegance. The Trajan column at Rome is of this order; less

remarkable for the beauty of its proportions than for the admirable sculpture which decorates it. — The Composite order is what its name implies: it shows that the Greeks had in the three original orders exhausted all the principles of grandeur and beauty; and that it was not possible to frame a fourth, but by combining the former.

5. The Gothic architecture offers no contradiction to these observations. The effect which it produces cannot be altogether accounted for from the rules of symmetry or harmony in the proportions between the several parts; but depends on a certain idea of vastness, gloominess, and solemnity, which are powerful ingredients in the sublime.

6. Sculpture was brought by the Greeks to as high perfection as architecture. The remains of Grecian sculpture are at this day the most perfect models of the art; and the modern artists have no means of attaining to excellence so certain as the study of those great master-pieces.

7. The excellence of the Greeks in sculpture may, perhaps, be accounted for chiefly from their having the human figure often before their eyes quite naked, and in all its various attitudes, both in the *Palæstra* and in their public games.

The antique statues have, therefore, a grandeur united with perfect simplicity, because the attitude is not the result of an artificial disposition of the figure, as in the modern academies, but is nature unconstrained. Thus, in the Dying Gladiator, when we observe the relaxation of the muscles, and the visible failure of strength and life, we cannot doubt that nature was the sculptor's immediate model of imitation.*

8. And this nature was in reality superior to what we now see in the ordinary race of men. The constant practice of gymnastic exercises gave a finer conformation of body than what is now to be found in the vitiated pupils of modern effeminacy, the artificial children of modern fashion.

9. A *secondary* cause of the eminence of the Greeks in the arts of design was their theology, which furnished an ample exercise for the genius of the sculptor and painter.

10. We must speak with more diffidence of the ability of the Greeks in painting, than we do of their superiority in sculpture; because the existing specimens of the former are very few,

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* *Cresilas vulneratum deficientem fecit, ex quo possit intelligi quantum restet animi.* PLIN. lib. 36.

and the pieces which are preserved are probably not the most excellent. But in the want of actual evidence, we have every presumption that the Greeks had attained to equal perfection in the art of painting and in sculpture: for if we find the judgment given by ancient writers of their excellence in sculpture confirmed by the universal assent of the best critics among the moderns, we have just reason to presume an equal rectitude in the judgment which the same ancient writers have pronounced upon their paintings. If Pliny is right in his opinion of the merits of those statues which yet remain, the Venus of Praxiteles, and the Laocöon of Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, we have no reason to suppose his taste to be less just, when he celebrates the merits and critically characterises the different manners of Zeuxis, Apelles, Parrhasius, Protogenes, and Timanthes, whose works have perished.

11. The paintings found in Herculaneum, Pompeii, the Sepulchrum Nasonianum at Rome, were probably the work of Greek artists; for the Romans were never eminent in any of the arts dependent on design. These paintings exhibit great knowledge of proportions, and of the

chiaro-oscuro; but betray an ignorance of the rules of perspective.

12. The music of the ancients appears to have been very greatly inferior to that of the moderns; [which is the more surprising, because they seem to have had much sensibility, and to have been capable of such strong excitement from the powers of harmony, as to have rendered music an object of the particular attention of their legislators, statesmen, and philosophers.]

13. The peculiar genius of the Greeks in the fine arts extended its effects to the revolutions of their states, and influenced their fate as a nation.

XXI.

OF THE GREEK POETS.

1. The Greeks were the first who reduced the athletic exercises to a system, and considered them as an object of general attention and importance. The Panathenæan, and afterwards the Olympic, the Pythian, Nemæan, and Isthmian games, were under the regulation of the laws. They contributed essentially to the

improvement of the nation; and, while they cherished martial ardour, and promoted hardiness and agility of body, cultivated likewise urbanity and politeness.

2. The games of Greece were not confined to gymnastic or athletic exercises. They encouraged competitions in genius and learning. They were the resort of the poets, the historians, and the philosophers.

3. In all nations poetry is of greater antiquity than prose composition; [sentiment and imagination having the start of reason, as faculties of the human mind.] The earliest prose-writers in Greece, Pherecydes of Scyros, and Cadmus of Miletus, were 350 years posterior to Homer. Any remains of the more ancient poets, as Linus, Orpheus, &c., are extremely suspicious. Homer is generally supposed to have flourished about 907 B. C.; to have followed the occupation of a wandering minstrel, and to have composed his poems in detached fragments, and separate ballads, and episodes. [Lycurgus is said to have first brought them into Greece, but] Pisistratus, about 540 B. C., first employed learned men to collect and methodise these fragments; and to this we owe the complete poems of the Iliad and Odyssey. [A more per-

fect edition was prepared by Aristotle for his pupil Alexander, to which the learned world may also probably be much indebted. The Macedonian prince is reported to have esteemed them so highly, as to have kept them in a golden casket, under his pillow, when he slept.] The distinguishing merits of Homer are, his profound knowledge of human nature, his faithful and minute description of ancient manners, his genius for the sublime and beautiful, and the harmony of his poetical numbers [a fine moral sentiment breathes throughout the whole]. His fidelity as an historian has been questioned; but the great outlines of his narrative are probably authentic. [The extreme accuracy of his statements in many particulars was acknowledged to be such, that different states have been known to refer to his works, to settle disputes about territory, and ascertain their rights of dominion.]

4. Hesiod was nearly contemporary with Homer; a poet of whose merits we should be little sensible, were they not seen through the medium of an immense antiquity, [and were it not supposed, according to certain authors, that, following some imperfect tradition, he meant to describe the state of our first parents, before and after the fall; including the paradisaical state.] The

poem of the Works and Days contains some judicious precepts of agriculture. The Theogony is an obscure history of the origin of the gods, and the formation of the universe.

5. About two centuries after Homer and Hesiod, flourished Archilochus, the inventor of Iambic verse; Terpander, equally eminent as a poet and a musician; Sappho, of whose composition we have two exquisite odes; Alcæus and Simonides, of whom there are some fine fragments; and Pindar and Anacreon, who have left enough to allow an accurate estimate of their merits.

6. Pindar was esteemed by the ancients the chief of the lyric poets. He possesses unbounded fancy and great sublimity of imagery; but his digressions are so rapid and so frequent, that we cannot discover the chain of thought; and his expression is allowed, even by Longinus, to be often obscure and unintelligible. [In general, however, it must be admitted that his precepts are just and noble, and his sentiments pure.]

7. Anacreon is a great contrast to Pindar. His fancy suggests only familiar and luxurious pictures. He has no comprehension of the sublime, but contents himself with the easy, the

graceful, and the wanton. His morality is loose, and his sentiments little else than the effusions of a voluptuary.

8. The collection termed *Anthologia*, which consists chiefly of ancient epigrams, contains many valuable specimens of the taste and poetical fancy of the Greeks, and contributes materially to the illustration of their manners. The best of the modern epigrams may be traced to this source.

9. The æra of the origin of dramatic composition among the Greeks is about 590 B. C. Thespis was contemporary with Solon. Within little more than a century the Greek drama was carried to its highest perfection; for Æschylus died 456 B. C. Æschylus wrote sixty-six tragedies [some, indeed, make them amount to ninety, the titles of which have been collected by Fabricius]. For thirteen he gained the first prize of dramatic poetry at the Olympic games. Only seven are now extant. Like Shakspeare, his genius is sublime, and his imagination unbounded [terror seems to have been the chief end of all his pieces]. He disdained regularity of plan, and all artificial restriction; but, unfortunately, he disdained likewise the restraints of decency and of good morals.

10. Sophocles and Euripides flourished about fifty years after Æschylus. Euripides is most masterly in painting the passion of love, both in its tenderest emotions and in its most violent paroxysms; yet the characters of his women demonstrate that he had no great opinion of the virtues of the sex [and Sophocles, indeed, comparing Euripides with himself, lets us into the secret, that the latter described them not as they should be, but as they were]. Longinus does not rate high his talent for the sublime; but he possessed a much superior excellence; his verses, with great eloquence and harmony, breathe the most admirable morality. There remain [only nineteen] tragedies of Euripides [out of nearly a hundred]; of these the Medea is deemed the most excellent.

11. Sophocles shared with Euripides the palm of dramatic poetry; and is judged to have surpassed him in the grand and sublime. Of 120 tragedies which he composed, only seven remain. They display great knowledge of the human heart, and a general chastity and simplicity of expression, which gives the greater force to the occasional strokes of the sublime. The Œdipus of Sophocles is esteemed the most perfect production of the Greek stage.

12. The Greek comedy is divided into the *ancient*, the *middle*, and the *new*. The first was a licentious satire and mimicry of real personages exhibited by name upon the stage. The laws repressed this extreme licence, and gave birth to the middle comedy, which continued the satirical delineation of real persons, but under fictitious names. The last improvement consisted in banishing all personal satire, and confining comedy to a delineation of manners. This was the new comedy. Of the first species, the ancient, we have no remains. The dramas of Aristophanes are an example of the second or middle comedy. The grossness of his raillery, and the malevolence which frequently inspired it, are a reproach to the morals of that people which could tolerate it, [and derogate greatly from the credit they might otherwise have acquired from the better taste of their tragedians. The plays of Aristophanes, nevertheless,] have their value, as throwing a light upon ancient manners.

13. Of the new comedy Menander was the bright example; possessing a vein of the most delicate wit, with the utmost purity of moral sentiment. Unfortunately we have nothing of him remaining but a few fragments preserved by Athenæus. We see a great deal of his

merits, however, in his copyist and translator Terence.

14. The actors, both in the Greek and Roman theatres, wore masks, of which the features were strongly painted, and the mouth so constructed as to increase the power of the voice. — It is probable the tragedy and comedy of the Greeks and Romans were set to music, and sung like the recitative in the Italian opera; and sometimes one person was employed to recite or sing the part, and another to perform the corresponding action or gesticulation.

15. The Mimes were burlesque parodies on the serious tragedy and comedy. The Pantomimes consisted solely of gesticulation, and were carried to great perfection.

XXII.

OF THE GREEK HISTORIANS.

1. THE most eminent of the Greek historians were contemporaries. Herodotus died 413 B. C.; Thucydides, 391 B. C.; and Xenophon was about twenty years younger than Thucydides. Herodotus writes the joint history of the Greeks and Persians from the time of Cyrus to the battles of Platæa and Mycale. He treats

incidently likewise of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Medes, and Lydians. His veracity is to be depended on in all matters that fell under his own observation; but he admits too easily the reports of others, and is in general fond of the marvellous. [He displays much learning in his account of Grecian affairs, and an ardent love of his country; but as he read his work to a large assembly whom he wished to please, he may, without violating the truth, have suppressed what might have been disagreeable to his audience.] His style is pure, and he has a copious elocution.

2. Thucydides, himself an able general, has written with great ability the history of the first twenty-one years of the Peloponnesian war; introducing it with a short narrative of the preceding periods of the history of Greece. He is justly esteemed for his fidelity and candour. His style is a contrast to the full and flowing period of Herodotus, possessing a sententious brevity, which is at once lively and energetic. [He is often, indeed, as must be admitted, harsh and obscure, but when his meaning is discovered, it is always found to be important and instructive: he constantly writes like a statesman.] The history of the remaining six years of the

war of Peloponnesus was written by Theopompus and Xenophon.

3. Xenophon commanded the Greek army in the service of Cyrus the younger, in his culpable enterprise against his brother Artaxerxes. (See Sect. XIII. § 6.) After the failure of this enterprise, Xenophon directed that astonishing retreat from Babylon to the Euxine, of which he has given an interesting and faithful narrative. He wrote likewise the Cyropedia, or the history of the elder Cyrus, which is believed to be rather an imaginary delineation of an accomplished prince than a real narration. He continued the history of Thucydides, and has left two excellent political tracts on the constitutions of Lacedæmon and Athens. His style is simple and energetic, familiar, unadorned, and free from all affectation. [A fine strain of moral feeling pervades all his writings: he was a disciple of Socrates, and fellow-pupil of Plato: his attachment to his master was most amiable and exemplary; he vindicated his fame; defended him in a most affecting and interesting apology, and transmitted his sentiments and discourses to posterity with impressive effect.]

4. Greece, in her decline, produced some historians of great eminence. Polybius, a native

of Megalopolis [in Arcadia], wrote forty books of the Roman and Greek history during his own age; that is, from the beginning of the second Punic war to the reduction of Macedonia into a Roman province; [treating of the Achæan league, the Macedonian, Syrian, Egyptian, Cappadocian, and Persian empires;] but of this great work only the first five books are entire, with an epitome of the following twelve. He merits less the praise of eloquence and purity than of authentic information, [great impartiality,] and most judicious reflection.

5. Diodorus Siculus flourished in the time of Augustus, and composed, in forty books, a general history of the world, under the title of Bibliotheca Historica [embracing a period from the reign of Ogyges, King of Bœotia, to his own time]. No more remain than fifteen books; of which the first five treat of the fabulous periods, and the history of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, &c. prior to the Trojan war. The next five are wanting. The remainder bring down the history from the expedition of Xerxes into Greece till after the death of Alexander the Great. He is taxed with chronological inaccuracy in the earlier parts of his

work; but the authenticity and correctness of the latter periods are unimpeached.

6. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, eminent both as an historian and rhetorician, flourished in the age of Augustus. His Roman Antiquities contain much valuable information, though his work is a good deal tinctured with the spirit of systematising, [and in general his writings betray too much of the orator.

7. Strabo, a native of Crete, lived also in the time of Augustus and of his successor Tiberius. We derive from him much curious information relating to the state and circumstances of the ancient world; and in all that he was capable of ascertaining by personal observation, he is remarkably accurate: he presents to us regular details of the institutes, policy, manners, and religion of the several countries he visited, particularly of the territory of Judea. His travels extended to Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Italy, and Sardinia.]

8. Plutarch, a native of Cheronæa, in Bœotia, flourished in the reign of Nero. His Lives of Illustrious Men is one of the most valuable of the literary works of the ancients; introducing us to an acquaintance with the private character and manners of those eminent persons

whose public achievements are recorded by professed historians. His morality is excellent; [though his writings, as might be expected, are sometimes sullied with the impurities of heathenism;] his style, though not eloquent, is clear and energetic.

9. Arrian wrote, in the reign of Adrian, seven books of the wars of Alexander, with great judgment and fidelity; his narrative being composed on the authority of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, two of Alexander's principal officers. [A History of India, also by the same author, is still extant, and a work on military tactics.] His style is unadorned, but chaste, perspicuous, and manly. [Arrian was a native of Nicomedia, and a disciple of Epictetus. He enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor Adrian to so high a degree as to be appointed by him governor of Cappadocia, when that province was in arms. Antoninus Pius admired his writings, and is supposed to have learned from him much of the doctrines of Epictetus.]

XXIII.

OF THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS.

1. After the time of Homer and Hesiod, the increasing relish for poetical composition gave rise to a set of men termed Rhapsodists, whose employment was to recite at the games and festivals the composition of the older poets, and to comment on their merits and explain their doctrines. Some of these founding schools of instruction were dignified by their pupils with the epithet of Sophists, or teachers of wisdom.

2. The most ancient school of philosophy was that founded by Thales, 640 B. C., and termed the Ionic. Thales is celebrated for his knowledge both in geometry and astronomy. His metaphysical doctrines are but imperfectly known. He taught the belief of a First Cause, and an over-ruling Providence; but supposed the Divinity to animate the universe, as the soul does the body. The moral doctrines of the Ionic school were pure and rational. The most eminent of the disciples of Thales were Anaximander and Anaxagoras.

3. Soon after the Ionic, arose the Italian sect, founded by Pythagoras, who was born about 586 B. C. He is supposed to have derived much of his knowledge from Egypt; and he had, like the Egyptian priests, a public doctrine for the people, and a private for his disciples: the former a good system of morals, the latter probably unintelligible mystery. His notions of the Divinity were akin to those of Thales; but he believed in the eternity of the universe, and its co-existence with the Deity. He taught the transmigration of the soul through different bodies. His disciples lived in common: they abstained rigorously from the flesh of animals: they held music in high estimation, as a corrective of the passions. Pythagoras believed the earth to be a sphere, the planets to be inhabited, and the fixed stars to be the suns and centres of other systems. His most eminent followers were Empedocles, Epicharmus, Ocellus Lucanus, Timæus, Archytas.

4. The Eleatic sect was founded by Xenophanes, about 500 B. C. Its chief supporters were Parmenides, Zeno, and Leucippus, citizens of Elea. The metaphysical notions of this sect were utterly unintelligible. They maintained, that things had neither beginning, end, nor any

change; and that all the changes we perceive are in our own senses. Yet Leucippus taught the doctrine of atoms, from whence he supposed all material substances to be formed. Of this sect were Democritus and Heraclitus.

5. The Socratic school arose from the Ionic. Socrates died 401 B. C., the wisest, the most virtuous of the Greeks. He exploded the futile logic of the Sophists, which consisted of a set of general arguments applicable to all manner of questions, and by which they could, with an appearance of plausibility, maintain either side of any proposition. Socrates always brought his antagonist to particulars; beginning with a simple and undeniable position, which being granted, another followed equally undeniable, till the disputant was conducted, step by step, by his own concessions, to that side of the question on which lay the truth. His rivals lost all credit as philosophers, but had influence to procure the destruction of the man who had exposed them. The doctrines of Socrates are to be learned from Plato and Xenophon. He taught the belief of a First Cause, whose beneficence is equal to his power, the Creator and Ruler of the universe. He inculcated the moral agency of man, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of

reward and punishment. He exploded the Polytheistic superstitions of his country; and thence became the victim of an accusation of impiety. (See Section XIII. § 5.)

6. The morality of Socrates was successfully cultivated by the Cyrenaic sect, but was pushed the length of extravagance by the Cynics. Virtue, in their opinion, consisted in renouncing all the conveniences of life. They clothed themselves in rags, slept and eat in the streets, or wandered about the country with a stick and a knapsack. They condemned all knowledge as useless. They associated impudence with ignorance, and indulged themselves in scurrility and invective without restraint.

7. The Megarean sect was the happy inventor of logical syllogism, or the art of quibbling.

8. The Academic sect had Plato for its founder; a philosopher whose doctrines have had a more extensive empire over the minds of mankind than those of any other among the ancients. This is in part owing to their intrinsic merit, and in part to the eloquence with which they have been propounded. Plato had the most sublime ideas of the Divinity, and his attributes [drawn, probably, from Hebrew sources during his sojournment among the Phœnicians].

He taught that the human soul was a portion of the Divinity, and that this alliance with the Eternal Mind might be improved into actual intercourse with the Supreme Being, by abstracting the soul from all the corruptions it derives from the body; a doctrine highly flattering to the pride of man, and generating that mystical enthusiasm which has the most powerful empire over a warm imagination.

9. The Platonic philosophy found its chief opponents in four remarkable sects, the Peripatetic, the Sceptic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean.

10. Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic sect, was the tutor of Alexander the Great, and established his school in the Lyceum at Athens; a philosopher, whose tenets have found more zealous partisans, and more rancorous opponents, than those of any other. His Metaphysics, from the sententious brevity of his expression, are extremely obscure, and have given rise to numberless commentaries. The best analysis of his logic is given by Dr. Reid, in Lord Kames's Sketches of the History of Man. His physical works are the result of great observation and acquaintance with nature; and his critical writings, as his Poetics and Art of Rhetoric, display both taste and judgment. It is

the latter works that will ever continue to be most valued. The peculiar passion of Aristotle was that of classifying, arranging, and combining the objects of his knowledge so as to reduce all to a few principles; a dangerous propensity in philosophy, and repressive of improvement in science.

11. The Sceptical sect was founded by Pyrrho. They formed no systems of their own, but endeavoured to weaken the foundations of those of all others. They inculcated universal doubt as the only true wisdom. There was, in their opinion, no essential difference between vice and virtue, farther than as human compact had discriminated them. Tranquillity of mind they supposed to be the state of the greatest happiness, and this was to be attained by absolute indifference to all dogmas or opinions.

12. The Stoics [the followers of Zeno], proposing to themselves the same end, tranquillity of mind, took a nobler path to arrive at it. They endeavoured to raise themselves above all the passions and feelings of humanity. They believed all nature, and God himself the soul of the universe, to be regulated by fixed and immutable laws. The human soul being a portion of the Divinity, man cannot complain of being

actuated by that necessity which actuates the Divinity himself. His pains and his pleasures are determined by the same laws which determine his existence. Virtue consists in accommodating the disposition of the mind to the immutable laws of nature; vice in opposing those laws: vice, therefore, is folly, and virtue the only true wisdom. A beautiful picture of the Stoical philosophy is found in the Enchiridion of Epictetus, and in the Meditations of M. Aurelius Antoninus. [But theirs seems to have been a moderated Stoicism, founded much more on the principles of resignation than on pride or apathy; too much of which is apparent in the tenets of the older branches of the sect.]

13. Epicurus taught that man's supreme happiness consisted in pleasure. He himself limited the term so as to make it mean only the practice of virtue. But if pleasure is allowed to be the object, every man will draw it from those sources which he finds can best supply it. It might have been the pleasure of Epicurus to be chaste and temperate. We are told it was so; but others find their pleasure in intemperance and luxury; and such was the taste of his principal followers. Epicurus held that the Deity

was indifferent to all the actions of man. They therefore had no other counsellor than their own conscience, and no other guide than the instinctive desire of their own happiness.

14. The Greek philosophy, on the whole, affords little else than a picture of the imbecility and caprice of the human mind. Its teachers, instead of experiment and observation, satisfied themselves with constructing theories; and these, wanting fact for their basis, have only served to perplex the understanding, and retard equally the advancement of sound morality and the progress of useful knowledge.

XXIV.

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

1. In the delineation of ancient history, Rome after the conquest of Greece, becomes the leading object of attention; and the history of this empire, in its progress to universal dominion, and afterwards in its decline and fall, involves a collateral account of all the other nations of antiquity which in those periods are deserving of our consideration.

2. Although we cannot conjecture with certainty as to the æra when Italy was first peopled, we have every reason to believe that it was inhabited by a refined and cultivated nation many ages before the Roman name was known. These were the Etruscans, of whom there exist at this day monuments in the fine arts, which prove them to have been a splendid, luxurious, and highly polished people. Their alphabet resembling the Phœnician, disposes us to believe them of eastern origin. [Both Greek and Latin writers agree in considering them to have come from Lydia, conducted into Italy by Tyrrhenus, son of Atys, King of Lydia, in the time of a great famine, from whom the adjoining sea had its name of Tyrrhenian.] The Roman historians mention them as a powerful and opulent nation long before the origin of Rome, *Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium latè terra marique opes patuere*, liv. v. 33.; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus deduces most of the religious rites of the Romans from Etruria. [They are said, indeed, to have been called *Tuscans*, from the Greek Θυω, denoting their great skill in sacrificial ceremonies, in which, as well as in all kinds of augury, they were particularly experienced.]

3. The rest of Italy was divided among a

number of independent tribes or nations, comparatively in a rude and uncultivated state; Umbrians, Ligurians, Sabines, Veientes, Latins, Æqui, Volsci, &c. [But the Etruscans and Latins are the only two nations in Italy of whom we find any thing material recorded before the foundation of Rome.] Latium, a territory of fifty miles in length and sixteen in breadth, contained forty-seven independent cities or states.

4. The origin of the city and state of Rome is involved in great uncertainty. Dionysius supposes two cities of that name to have existed, and to have perished before the foundation of the city built by Romulus. The vulgar account of the latter is, that it was founded 753 B. C. by a troop of shepherds or banditti, who peopled their new city by carrying off the wives and daughters of their neighbours the Sabines.

5. The great outlines of the first constitution of the Roman government, though generally attributed to the political abilities of Romulus, seem to have a natural foundation in the usages of barbarous nations. Other institutions bear the traces of political skill and positive enactment. [One regulation does credit to his judgment as a philosopher, or man of science; we

allude to his reformation of the Roman year, or Latin months, by bringing them nearer to the true standard, and rendering them more equal; thereby correcting some very important errors, arising out of the unequal divisions of the zodiac. This new year, however, underwent a further correction by his very able successor, as we shall have to show.]

6. Romulus is said to have divided his people into three tribes, and each tribe into ten *curiæ*. The lands he distributed into three portions; one for the support of the government, another for the maintenance of religion, and the third he divided into equal portions of two acres to each Roman citizen. He instituted a senate of 100 members, (afterwards increased to 200,) who deliberated on and prepared all public measures for the assembly of the people, in whom was vested the right of determination. The Patrician families were the descendants of those *centum patres*.

7. The king had the nomination of the senators, the privilege of assembling the people, and a right of appeal in all questions of importance. He had the command of the army, and the office of *Pontifex Maximus*. He had, as a guard, twelve lictors, and a troop of horsemen named

Celeres or *Equites*, afterwards the distinct order of Roman knights. These regulations are of positive institution: others arose naturally from the state of society.

8. The *patria potestas* is of the latter nature, being common to all barbarous tribes. [In the first ages of the Republic, this obtained to an unreasonable extent, but it ought to be added, was seldom abused.] — The limitation of all arts to the slaves arose from the constant employment of the citizens in warfare or in agriculture.

9. The connection of patron and client was an admirable institution, which at once united the [different classes of] citizens, and maintained an useful subordination.

10. The Sabines were the most formidable enemy of the early Romans; and a wise policy united for a while the two nations into one state. After the death of Romulus, who reigned thirty-seven years, Numa, a Sabine, was elected king. His disposition was pious and pacific, and he endeavoured to give his people the same character. He pretended to divine inspiration, in order to give the greater authority to his laws, which in themselves were excellent. He multiplied the national gods; [introducing such, particularly,

as might best lead the people to a knowledge and practice of the first duties of society; as the *Dii Termini*, presiding over boundaries, whereby the rights of property were rendered sacred and inviolable; to which we may justly add his *Bona Fides*, to whom he caused altars to be erected, and who being set forth as the avenger of all breaches of vows, promises, oaths, and engagements, as well public as private, gave a great security to treaties, and became a salutary check upon those who might be disposed, especially in their private dealings, and contracts, to act deceitfully or fraudulently;] he built temples, and instituted different classes of priests, *Flamines*, *Salii*, &c., and a variety of religious ceremonies. The Flamines officiated each in the service of a particular deity; the Salii guarded the sacred bucklers; the Vestals cherished the sacred fire; the Augurs and Aruspices divined future events from the flight of birds and the entrails of victims [and were permitted, in a very extraordinary manner, to interfere with the civil government, even so far as to annul laws, dissolve the public assemblies, and displace magistrates]. The temple of Janus was open in war, and shut during peace. — Numa reformed the kalendar, regulating the year at twelve lunar months, and

distinguished the days for civil occupation (*Fasti*) from those dedicated to religious rest (*Nefasti*). Agriculture was lawful on the latter, as a duty of religion. [The reformation of the Kalendar alone, bespeaks great skill and sagacity in Numa, especially at so early an age, and in a country remote from the more ancient or original seats of science. It has, indeed, been observed, that this construction of the lunar year, and adjustment to the solar of 365 days, was by far more simple, ingenious, and scientific than any of the boasted cycles of Greece or Egypt, even at a later period; still, however, he did not succeed in completing what he attempted, misled, as it has been judged, by a superstitious veneration for odd numbers as more lucky than even; and which led him at once to substitute, very unfortunately, months of twenty-nine days each, for the even months of thirty days, fixed by his predecessors.] Numa reigned forty-three years.

11. Tullus Hostilius, the third king of Rome, of warlike disposition, subdued the Albans, Fidenates, and other neighbouring states. The Sabines, now disunited from the Romans, were among the most powerful of their enemies. Tullus reigned thirty-three years.

12. Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa,

was elected king on the death of Tullus. He inherited the piety and virtues of his grandfather, and joined to these the talents of a warrior. He increased the population of Rome by naturalising some of the conquered states; enlarged and fortified the city, and built the port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. He reigned gloriously twenty-four years.

13. Tarquinius Priscus, [the son of] a citizen [and merchant] of Corinth, popular from his wealth and liberality, was elected to the vacant throne. He enlarged the senate by 100 new members from the Plebeian families, *Patres minorum gentium*. This body consisted now of 300, at which number it remained for some centuries. Tarquin was victorious in his wars, and he adorned and improved the city with works of utility and magnificence. Such were the Circus or Hippodrome [after the manner of the Greeks]; the walls of hewn stone; the Capitol [which indeed he only lived to begin]; the Cloacæ, those immense common sewers, which lead to the belief that the new Rome had been built on the ruins of an ancient city of greater magnitude. Tarquinius was assassinated [at the instigation of the sons of Ancus Martius] in the thirty-eighth year of his reign.

14. Servius Tullius, who, [after having been born and bred a slave, as his name or prænomen *Servius* denotes,] had married the daughter of Tarquinius, secured by his own address, and the intrigues of his mother-in-law, his election to the vacant throne. He courted popularity by acts of munificence; discharging the debts of the poor, dividing among the citizens his patrimonial lands, improving the city with useful edifices, and extending its boundaries, [by taking within the compass of its walls the hills Quirinalis, Viminalis, and Esquilinus. He established the census, by which he discovered that Rome contained about eighty-four thousand inhabitants.] The new arrangement which he introduced in the division of the Roman citizens [into tribes, that they might be brought with more justice, and in better proportions to contribute to the public expences of the state,] is a proof of much political ability, and merits attention, as on it depended many of the revolutions of the Republic.

15. From the time that the Romans had admitted the Albans and Sabines to the rights of citizens, the Urban and Rustic tribes were composed of those three nations. Each tribe being divided into ten *curiæ*, and every curia having an equal vote in the *cōmitia*, as each individual

had in his tribe, all questions were decided by the majority of suffrages. There was no pre-eminence between the *curiæ*, and the order in which they gave their votes was determined by lot. This was a reasonable constitution, so long as the fortunes of the citizens were nearly on a par; but, when riches came to be unequally divided, it was obvious that much inconvenience must have arisen from this equal partition of power, as the rich could easily by bribery command the suffrages of the poor. Besides, all the taxes had hitherto been levied by the head, without any regard to the inequality of fortunes. These obvious defects furnished to Servius a just pretext for an entire change of system. His plan was to remove the poorer citizens from all share of the government; while the burdens attending its support should fall solely on the rich.

16. All the citizens were required, under a heavy penalty, to declare upon oath their names, dwellings, number of their children, and amount of their fortune. After this enumeration or *census*, Servius divided the whole citizens, without distinction, into four tribes, named, from the quarters where they dwelt, the *Palatine*, *Suburran*, *Collatine*, and *Esquiline*. Besides this local division, Servius distributed the whole

people into six classes, and each class into several centuries or portions of citizens, so called not as actually consisting of an hundred, but as being obliged to furnish and maintain 100 men in time of war. In the first class, which consisted of the richest citizens, or those who were worth at least 100 *minæ* *, there were no less than ninety-eight centuries. In the second class (those worth 75 *minæ*) there were twenty-two centuries. In the third (those worth 50 *minæ*) were twenty centuries. In the fourth (those worth 25 *minæ*) twenty-two centuries. In the fifth (those worth 12 *minæ*) thirty centuries. The sixth, the most numerous of the whole, comprehending all the poorer citizens, furnished only one century. Thus the whole Roman people were divided into 193 centuries, or portions of citizens, so called, as furnishing each an hundred soldiers. The sixth class was declared exempt from all taxes. The other classes, according to the number of centuries of which they consisted, were rated for the public burdens at so much for each century. [And thus, when an army or a large supply of money was wanted for a war, each century furnished

* About 300*l.* sterling.

its quota both of men and money; so that the first class, which contained more centuries, though fewer men, than all the others together, supplied more men, and more money, than the whole Roman state besides; and by the same means the Roman armies were brought to consist, for the most part, of the richer citizens of Rome, who, having lands and effects of their own to defend, fought with more resolution, and were the best able to support the expenses of a campaign.]

17. The poor had no reason to complain of this arrangement; but something was wanting to compensate the rich for the burdens to which they were subjected. For this purpose Servius enacted, that henceforth the *Comitia* should give their votes by centuries; the first class, consisting of ninety-eight centuries, always voting first. Thus, although the whole people were called to the *Comitia*, and all seemed to have an equal suffrage, yet, in reality, the richer classes determined every question, the suffrage of the poor being merely nominal: for as the whole people formed 193 centuries, and the first and second classes contained 120 of these, if they were unanimous, which generally happened in questions of importance, a majority was se-

cured. Thus in the *Comitia Centuriata*, in which the chief magistrates were elected, peace and war decreed, and all other important business discussed, the richer classes of the citizens had the sole authority, the votes of the poor being of no avail. And such was the ingenuity of this policy, that all were pleased with it: the rich paid their taxes with cheerfulness, as the price of their power; and the poor gladly exchanged authority for immunities. The census, performed every five years, was closed by a *lustrum*, or expiatory sacrifice; and hence that period of time was called a *Lustrum*. [Even in this Servius evinced much wisdom, policy, and feeling; duly and properly considering, that in the compass of five years there might be great alterations in the fortunes of private persons, so as to make it reasonable not only to raise some to a higher class, but to reduce others to a lower and less burdensome situation.]

18. Servius was assassinated, after a reign of forty-four years, [through the intrigues, *if not* by the very hand of] his infamous daughter Tullia, married to Tarquinius, the grandson of Priscus, who thus paved the way for his own elevation to the throne. The government of Tarquin, surnamed the Proud, was systematically tyran-

nical. He ingratiated himself with the lower orders, to abase by their means the power of the higher; but insolent, rapacious, and cruel, he finally disgusted all ranks of his subjects. A rape, committed by his son Sextus on Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, who, unable to survive her dishonour, stabbed herself in presence of her husband and kindred, roused their vengeance, and procured, by their influence with their countrymen, the expulsion of the tyrant, and the utter abolition of the regal dignity at Rome, 509 B. C..

19. *Reflections on the Government and State of Rome during the Period of the Kings.* — The whole structure of the constitution of the Romans under the monarchy has been by most authors erroneously attributed exclusively to the abilities of Romulus, a youth of eighteen, the leader of a troop of shepherds or banditti. This chimerical idea we owe to Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The truth is, the Roman government, like almost every other, was the gradual result of circumstances; the fruit of time, and of political emergency.

20. The constitution of the Roman senate has occasioned considerable research, and is not free from obscurity. It is probable that the

kings had the sole right of naming the senators, that the consuls succeeded them in this right, and afterwards, when these magistrates found too much occupation from the frequent wars in which the state was engaged, that privilege devolved on the censors. The senators were at first always chosen from the body of the Patricians, but afterwards the Plebeians acquired an equal title to that dignity. In the earlier periods of the Republic, the people could not be assembled but by the senate's authority; nor were the *plebiscita* of any weight till confirmed by their decree. Hence the early constitution of the Republic was rather aristocratical than democratical. From this extensive power of the senate, the first diminution was made by the creation of the Tribunes of the people; and other retrenchments successively took place, till the people acquired at length the predominant power in the state. Yet the senate, even after every usurpation on their authority, continued to have, in many points, a supremacy. They regulated all matters regarding religion; they had the custody of the public treasure; they superintended the conduct of all magistrates; they gave audience to ambassadors, decided on

the fate of vanquished nations, disposed of the governments of the provinces, and took cognisance, by appeal, in all crimes against the state. In great emergencies they appointed a Dictator with absolute authority.

21. At the period of the abolition of the regal government, the territory of the Romans was extremely limited. The only use they made of their victories was to naturalise the inhabitants of some of the conquered states, and so increase their population. Thus their strength being always superior to their enterprises, they laid a solid foundation for the future extension of their empire.

22. In the accounts given by historians of the strength of the armies, both of the Romans in those early times, and of the neighbouring states their enemies, we have every reason to believe there is much exaggeration. The territories from which those armies were furnished were incapable of supplying them.

23. In the continual wars in which the Republic was engaged, the Romans were most commonly the aggressors. The causes of this seem to have been the ambition of the consuls to distinguish their short administration by some splendid enterprise, and the wish of the senate

to give the people occupation, to prevent intestine disquiets.

24. The regal government subsisted 244 years, and in that time only seven kings reigned, several of whom died a violent death. These circumstances throw doubt on the authenticity of this period of the Roman history. It is allowed that, for the five first centuries after the building of Rome, there were no historians. The first is Fabius Pictor, who lived during the second Punic war. Livy says that almost all the ancient records were destroyed when Rome was taken by the Gauls.

XXV.

ROME UNDER THE CONSULS.

1. THE regal government being abolished, it was agreed to commit the supreme authority to two magistrates, who should be annually elected by the people from the Patrician order. To these they gave the name of *Consules*; "a "modest title (says Vertot), which gave to "understand that they were rather the counsel-"lors of the Republic than its sovereigns; and "that the only point they ought to have in view

" was its preservation and glory." But, in fact, their authority differed scarcely in any thing from that of the kings. They had the supreme administration of justice, the disposal of the public money, the power of convoking the senate, and assembling the people, raising armies, naming all the officers, and the right of making peace and war. The only difference was, that their authority was limited to a year; [but as they were chosen exclusively from the Patrician order, the power of the latter was augmented at the hazard of the people's liberty.]

2. The first consuls were Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, [and Brutus the voluntary avenger of her wrongs. He had affected idiotcy, to avoid the evils that had befallen his father and brother, who were murdered by order of Tarquin; but having been roused to throw off the mask, nothing less would satisfy him than the utter expulsion of the tyrant and his family.] Tarquin was at this time in Etruria, where he got two of the most powerful cities, Veii and Tarquinii, to espouse his cause. He had likewise his partisans at Rome; and a plot was formed to open the gates to receive him. It was detected; and Brutus had the mortification to find his two sons in the number of the conspirators. He con-

demned them to be beheaded in his presence; *Exuit patrem ut consulem ageret; orbusque vivere, quam publicæ vindictæ deesse maluit.* Val. Max.

3. The consul Valerius, successful in an engagement with the exiled Tarquin, [in which his colleague Brutus fell by the hand of Aruns, Tarquin's son,] was the first Roman who enjoyed the splendid reward of a triumph. Arrogant from his recent honours, his popularity began to decline; and in the view of recovering it, he proposed the law, termed, from him, the Valerian, which "permitted any citizen who "had been condemned to death by a magistrate, "or even to banishment or scourging, to appeal "to the people, and required their consent pre-"viously to the execution of the sentence." This law gave the first blow to the aristocracy in the constitution of the Roman republic. [And to render the change more striking and manifest to the people, he caused the axe to be separated from the rods borne before the consuls by the lictors, that it might be seen at once that the powers of punishment had passed from the consuls to the people at large; but it was soon restored.]

4. For thirteen years after the expulsion of Tarquin the Romans were involved in continual

wars on his account. Of these the most remarkable was that with the Etrurians under Porsena; a war fertile in exploits of romantic heroism.

5. Soon after this period began those domestic disorders, which continued long to embroil the Republic. Great complaints had arisen among the poorer classes of the citizens, both on account of the inequality of property from the partial distribution of the conquered lands, which the higher ranks generally contrived to engross to themselves, and from the harsh policy by which it was in the power of creditors to reduce to a state of slavery their insolvent debtors. As there was no legal restraint on usury, the poor, when once reduced to the necessity of contracting debts, were left entirely at the mercy of their creditors: [slavery, corporal punishment, confiscation of lands, were continually resorted to, to enforce payment.] These grievances, felt in common by a large proportion of the citizens, excited much discontent, which, from complaints long disregarded, grew at length into a spirit of determined resistance. The wars required new levies; and the plebeians positively refused to enrol their names, unless the senate should put an end to their oppression, by decreeing at once an abolition of all the debts due by the poor to

the rich. The emergency was critical, as the enemy was at the gates of Rome. The consuls found their authority of no avail; for the Valerian law had given any citizen condemned by them a right of appeal to the people. An extraordinary measure was necessary, and a Dictator was created for the first time; a magistrate, who, for the period of six months, was invested with absolute and unlimited authority, [the functions of all the other magistrates being *pro tempore* suspended.] [Titus] Lartius [Flavius] the first nominated to this high office, armed the twenty-four lictors with axes, summoned the whole people to the Comitia, and calling over the names, under the penalty of death to any citizen who should dare to murmur, enrolled all such as he judged most fit for the service of their country. This expedient became henceforward a frequent and certain resource in all seasons of public danger; [and for the space of four hundred years, it is remarkable, that no person appointed to this high and paramount office, however popular or victorious, ever sought to prolong his authority beyond the settled period, or to withdraw himself from public enquiry.]

6. The death of Tarquin removed one check against the tyranny of the higher over the lower

orders; for the latter had hitherto kept alive a salutary apprehension, that, in case of extreme oppression, they would be under the necessity of calling back their king. When this fear was at an end, the domineering spirit of the Patricians, exceeding every bound both of good policy and humanity, drove the people at length to deeds of mutiny and rebellion. An alarm from the enemy gave full weight to their power, and made the chief magistrates of the state solemnly engage their honour to procure a redress of their grievances, as soon as the public danger was at an end. The promise, either from a failure of will or of power, was not fulfilled, and this violation of faith drove the people at length to extremities. Bound by their military oath not to desert their standards, they carried them along with them; and the whole army, in military array, withdrew from Rome, and deliberately encamped on the Mons Sacer, at three miles' distance from the city; and here they were soon joined by the greatest part of the people. This resolute procedure had its desired effect. The senate deputed ten persons, the most respectable of their order, with plenary powers; and these, seeing no medium of compromise, granted to the people all their demands. The debts were

solemnly abolished; and for the security of their privileges in future, they were allowed the right of choosing magistrates of their own order, who should have the power of opposing with effect every measure which they should judge prejudicial to their interests. These were the Tribunes of the people, chosen annually; at first five in number, and afterwards increased to ten. Without guards or tribunal, and having no seat in the senate-house, they had yet the power, by a single *veto*, to suspend or annul the decrees of the senate and the sentences of the consuls. Their persons were declared sacred, but their authority was confined to the limits of a mile from the city. The Tribunes demanded and obtained two magistrates to assist them, who were termed Ædiles, from the charge committed to them of the buildings of the city.

7. From this æra (260 years from the foundation of Rome) we date the commencement of the popular constitution of the Roman republic; a change operated by the unwise policy of the Patricians themselves, who, by yielding to just complaints, and humanely redressing flagrant abuses, might have easily anticipated every ground of dissatisfaction. The first wish of the people was not power, but relief from tyranny

and oppression; and had this been readily granted them, if not by abolishing the debts, at least by repressing enormous usury, and putting an end to the inhuman right of corporal punishment and the bondage of debtors, the people would have cheerfully returned to order and submission, and the Roman constitution have long remained what we have seen it was at the commencement of the consular government, aristocratical. But the plebeians now obtaining magistrates of their own order with those high powers, we shall see it become the object of the magistrates to increase their authority by continual demands and bold encroachments. The people, regarding them as the champions of their rights, are delighted to find themselves gradually approaching to a level with the higher order; and, no longer bounding their desires to ease and security, are soon equally influenced by ambition as their superiors. While this people, borne down by injustice, seek no more than the redress of real grievances, we sympathise with their feelings, and applaud their spirited exertions; but compassing at length the end they wished, attaining ease and security, nay, power, which they had neither sought nor expected; when we see them, after this, increas-

ing in their demands, assuming that arrogance they justly blamed in their superiors, goaded on by the ambition of their leaders to tyrannise in their turn; we view with proper discrimination the love of liberty and its extreme licentiousness; and treat with just detestation the authors of those pernicious measures which embroiled the state in endless faction, and paved the way for the total loss of that liberty, of which this deluded people knew not the value when they actually possessed it.

XXVI.

THE LAW OF VOLERO.

1. THE disorders of the commonwealth, appeased by the creation of the Tribunes, were but for a time suspended. It was necessary that the popular magistrates should make an experiment of their powers. In an assembly of the people, one of the consuls, interrupted by a tribune, rashly said, that had the tribunes called that assembly, he would not have interrupted them. This was a concession on the part of the consuls, that the tribunes had the power of

assembling the comitia, which from that moment they assumed as their acknowledged right. It was a consequence of this right, that the affairs of the commonwealth should be agitated in those meetings, equally as in the assemblies held in virtue of a consular summons, or senatorial decree, and thus there were, in a manner, two distinct legislative powers established in the republic. [For it was soon brought to that issue, that whenever the senate refused to confirm the *Plebiscita*, or decrees of the tribunitial assemblies, the people refused to pay any deference or obedience to the *Senatus-Consulta*.]

2. The trial of Coriolanus for inconsiderately proposing the abolition of the Tribunate, an offence interpreted to be treason against the state, threw an additional weight into the scale of the people. [For by this the plebeians absolutely acquired and established a right to become judges of the patricians, and to call before their tribunal the greatest men in the commonwealth, and to decide their fate. The peculiar character of Coriolanus, and the uncontrollable impetuosity of the proceedings against him being particularly calculated to show to how great an ascendancy the popular party had attained, and how entirely the nature of the government was changed.] The

proposal of an Agrarian law, for the division of the lands acquired by recent conquests, resumed at intervals, though never carried into execution, inflamed the passions of the rival orders.

3. Publius Volero, formerly a centurion, and a man distinguished for his military services, had, in the new levies, been ranked as a common soldier. Complaining of this unmerited degradation, he refused his services in that capacity; and the consuls having condemned him to corporal punishment, he appealed from their sentence to the people. The contest lasted till the annual term of elections, when Volero himself was chosen a tribune of the people. He had an ample revenge, by procuring the enactment of a most important law. The comitia, by centuries and by curiæ, could not be called but in virtue of a decree of the senate, after consulting the auspices; and in those comitia the tribunes had hitherto been elected, and the most important public affairs discussed. It was decreed by the law of Volero, that the election of the tribunes should be made, and the chief public business henceforward discussed, in the comitia held by tribes, which were unfettered by any of those restraints; [and thus the whole power of the patricians might be said to be transferred at

once to the plebeians; for while in the *Comitia Centuriata* the former were sure to prevail by means of their wealth, and in the *Comitia Curiata* both by their wealth and patronage, in the *Comitia Tributa*, there being only four tribes in the city, and as many as seventeen in the country, the patricians had no longer, under such an arrangement, any proportionable weight either in the way of wealth, patronage, or numbers, to oppose to the wills and decrees of the commons.] From this period, the supreme authority in the Roman republic may be considered as having passed completely from the higher order into the hands of the people. The Roman constitution was now plainly a democracy, 471 B. C.

XXVII.

THE DECEMVIRATE.

1. THE Romans had, till this period, no body of civil laws. Under the regal government the kings alone administered justice; [though not altogether without consulting the people, as Cicero has observed in the case of the Horatii;]

the consuls succeeded them in this high prerogative; and thus possessed, without control, the absolute command of the fortunes and civil rights of all the citizens. [For acting upon laws not known to the people at large, they had, as it were, merely a penal jurisdiction; there was no preventive justice.] To remedy this great defect, Terentillus, a tribune, proposed the nomination of ten commissioners, to frame and digest a code of laws for the explanation and security of the rights of all orders of the state. A measure so equitable ought to have met with no opposition. It was, however, strenuously, though ineffectually, opposed by the patricians, who, by a fruitless contest, [which continued eight years,] only exposed their own weakness. The decemviri were chosen; but the election being made in the comitia by centuries, the consul Appius Claudius, [the third of that name,] with his colleague, were at the head of this important commission, [associated with five others of similar rank, and three senators, who had been specially deputed to Athens to examine and make collections from the laws of Solon and other Grecian legislators.*] The laws were

* [Gibbon after *Bonamy* questions the fact of this embassy, but Mr. Butler in his Horæ Juridicæ admits it.]

framed, those celebrated statutes known by the name of the Twelve Tables, which are the basis of the great structure of the Roman jurisprudence, 451 B. C. — [Great care had been taken to have the concurrence of the people, by exposing the several laws in the most conspicuous parts of the forum, and inviting observation, for the purposes of amendment or correction.]

2. An acquaintance with these ancient laws is therefore of importance. Even in the most flourishing times of the Republic they continued to be of the highest authority. They have the encomium of Cicero himself, [qualified, however, with some hints at a reform;] and we learn from him, that to commit these laws to memory was an essential part of a liberal education. From the twelve tables the juris-consulti composed a system of judicial forms, for the regulation of the different tribunals. The number of the laws was likewise from time to time increased by the *Senatus-Consulta* and *Plebiscita.*

3. The decemvirs were invested with all the powers of government, for the consulate had ceased on their creation. [They were even freed from any popular interruption by the suspension of the tribunate.] Each decemvir by turn presided for a day, and had the sovereign

authority, with its insignia, the fasces. The nine others officiated solely as judges in the determination of law-suits, and the correction of abuses. An abuse, however, of the most flagrant nature, committed by the chief of their own number, [in the third year of their rule,] was destined speedily to bring their office to its termination.

4. Appius Claudius, [who had very artfully managed to get himself re-chosen on the dissolution of the first decemvirate, and to associate with himself persons entirely devoted to his will,] inflamed by lawless passion for the young Virginia, the betrothed spouse of Icilius, formerly a tribune of the people, employed a profligate dependant to claim the maiden as his own property, on the false pretence of her being the daughter of one of his female slaves. The claim was made to the decemvir himself in judgment, who pronounced an infamous decree, which tore from her family this helpless victim, and put her into the hands of his own minion. Her father, to save the honour of his child, plunged a dagger into her breast; and the people, witnesses of this shocking scene, would have massacred Appius on the spot, had he not found means to escape amidst the tumult. Their vengeance,

however, was satiated by the instant abolition of this hated magistracy, and by the death of Appius, who chose by his own hand to prevent the stroke of the executioner. The decemvirate had subsisted for three years. The consuls were now restored, together with the tribunes of the people, 449 B. C. [But the laws were established, the people wisely distinguishing between the merit of the work, and the infamy of its authors.]

XXVIII.

INCREASE OF THE POPULAR POWER.

1. The scale of the people was daily acquiring weight, at the expense of that of the highest order. Two barriers, however, still separated the patricians and plebeians: the one, a law which prevented their intermarriage; and the other, the constitutional limitation of all the higher offices to the order of the patricians. It was now only necessary to remove these restraints, and the patricians and plebeians were on a footing of perfect equality. The first, after a long but fruitless contest, was at length

agreed to by the senate; and this concession had its usual effect of stimulating the people to inflexible perseverance in their struggle for the latter. On an emergence of war, the customary device was practised, of refusing to enter the rolls, unless upon the immediate enactment of a law, which should admit their capacity of holding all the offices of the Republic. The senate sought a palliative, by the creation of six military tribunes in lieu of the consuls, three of whom should be patricians, and three plebeians. This measure satisfied the people for a time: the consuls, however, were soon restored.

2. The disorders of the Republic, and frequent wars, had interrupted the regular survey of the citizens. This was remedied by the creation of a new magistracy. Two officers, under the title of Censors, were appointed (437 B. C.), whose duty was not only to make the *census* every five years, but to inspect the morals and regulate the duties of all the citizens; [having power to degrade senators, dismount knights, and even remove plebeians, by turning them down from a superior to an inferior tribe. It was always] an office of dignity equal to its importance, exercised in the latter times of the Republic, only

by consular persons, and afterwards annexed to the supreme function of the emperor.

3. The dissensions between the orders continued [for several years] with little variation either in their causes or effects. [The consuls were superseded by military tribunes, and the latter by consuls again, while] the people, generally, as the last resource, refused to enrol themselves, till overawed by the supreme authority of a dictator. To obviate the frequent necessity of this measure, which enforced at best an unwilling and compelled obedience, the senate had recourse to a wise expedient; this was, to give a regular pay to the troops, [an expedient easily rendered agreeable to the unreflecting populace, who, though accustomed to take the field stimulated by the hopes and prospect of plunder, generally left their farms untilled, so as in the ensuing season to be reduced to borrow, subject to all the vexations and distresses arising out of usurious contracts.] To defray this expense, a moderate tax was imposed in proportion to the fortunes of the citizens. From this period the Roman system of war assumed a new aspect. The senate always found soldiers at command; the army was under its control; the enterprises of the Republic were more extensive, and its

successes more signal and important. Veii, the proud rival of Rome, and its equal in extent and population, was taken by Camillus, after a siege of ten years, A. U. C. 396. The art of war was improved, as it now became a profession, instead of an occasional occupation. The Romans were, from this circumstance, an overmatch for all their neighbours. Their dominion, hitherto confined to the territory of a few miles, was now rapidly extended. It was impossible but the detached states of Italy must have given way before a people always in arms, and who, by a perseverance alike resolute and judicious, were equal to every attempt in which they engaged.

4. The taking of Veii was succeeded by a war with the Gauls. This people, a branch of the great nation of the Celtæ, had opened to themselves a passage through the Alps at four different periods, and were at this time established in the country between those mountains and the Appenines. Under the command of Brennus, they laid siege to the Etruscan Clusium; and this people, of no warlike turn themselves, solicited the aid of the Romans. The circumstances recorded of this war with the Gauls throw over it a cloud of fable and romance.

The formidable power of Rome is said to have been in a single campaign so utterly exhausted, that the Gauls entered the city without resistance, and burnt it to the ground, 385 B. C. Though thus overpowered, the Romans, in a single engagement, [under Camillus, who returned from a state of banishment, to save his country,] retrieve all their losses, and in one day's time there is not a Gaul left remaining within the Roman territory.

To the burning of the city by the Gauls, the Roman writers attribute the loss of all the records and monuments of their early history.

5. It is singular, that most of the Roman revolutions should have owed their origin to women. From this cause we have seen spring the abolition of the regal office and the decemvirate. From this cause arose the change of the constitution, by which the plebeians became capable of holding the highest offices of the commonwealth. The younger daughter of Fabius Ambustus, married to a plebeian, envious of the honours of her elder sister, the wife of a patrician, stimulated her father to rouse the lower order to a resolute purpose of asserting their equal right with the patricians to all the offices and dignities of the state. After much

turbulence and contest, the final issue was the admission of the plebeians, first to the consulate, and afterwards to the censorship, the prætorship, and priesthood (A. U. C. 454, and B. C. 300); a change beneficial in the main, as consolidating the strength of the Republic, and cutting off the principal source of intestine disorder. The factions of the state had hitherto confined the growth of its power, its splendour, and prosperity; for no state can at once be prosperous and anarchical. We shall now mark the rapid elevation of the Roman name and empire.

XXIX.

CONQUEST OF ITALY BY THE ROMANS.

1. The war with the Samnites now began, and was of long continuance; but its successful termination was speedily followed by the reduction of all the states of Italy. In the course of this important war, the Tarentines, the allies of the Samnites, sought the aid of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, one of the greatest generals of his age. Pyrrhus landed in Italy with 30,000 men,

and a train of elephants, 280 B. C. He was at first successful, but no longer so than till a short experience reconciled the Romans to a new mode of war, [for it was the first contest between Greeks and Romans, between the legion and the phalanx; the first occasion on which the Roman soldier had to contend with and to face the ponderous elephant more formidable to the cavalry than the infantry, the horses being thrown into confusion, through dread of their noise, and disgust at their smell.] Sensible at length of the difficulties of his enterprise, and dreading a fatal issue, Pyrrhus embraced an invitation from the Sicilians to aid them in a war with Carthage. On this pretext, which at least was not dishonourable, Pyrrhus withdrew his troops from Italy. In this interval the Romans reduced the Samnites, the Tarentines, and the other allied states to extremity. Pyrrhus returned, and made a last effort near Beneventum. He was totally defeated, lost 26,000 men, and, abandoning at once all further views upon Italy, returned with precipitation to his own dominions, 274 B. C. The hostile states submitted to the victorious power; and Rome, 480 years from the foundation of the city, was now mistress of all Italy.

2. The policy observed by the Romans, with respect to the conquered nations, was wise and judicious. They removed to Rome all the leading men of the principal conquered cities, admitting these into the ancient urban and rustic tribes, and thus soothing the pride of the vanquished, by giving them an apparent share in their own domestic government; while in arranging the constitution of the cities, they filled their magistracies with illustrious Romans, whose abilities and influence were fitted to maintain those new provinces in allegiance to the Roman government.

3. Sicily had long been considered as the granary of Italy. The Carthaginians at this time possessed very considerable settlements in the island, and were ambitious of acquiring its entire dominion. An obvious policy led the Romans to dispute with them this important acquisition, and gave rise to the Punic wars. This leads, by a natural connection, to a short view of the history of Carthage and of Sicily.

XXX.

HISTORY OF CARTHAGE.

1. CARTHAGE, according to the most probable accounts, was founded by a colony of Tyrians, about seventy years before the building of Rome. The colony had the same language, the same or nearly similar laws and constitution, the same national character with the parent state. The city of Carthage was, at the period of the Punic wars, one of the most splendid in the universe, and had under its dominion 300 of the smaller cities of Africa bordering on the Mediterranean Sea.

2. The constitution of the Republic is celebrated by Aristotle as one of the most perfect of the governments of antiquity; but we know little more than its general nature from ancient writers. Two magistrates named *Suffetes*, annually chosen, seem to have possessed powers akin to those of the Roman consuls, [except that the latter engaged in military expeditions, while the former strictly confined themselves to civil affairs.] The Carthaginian senate [also resem-

bled] that of Rome; with this remarkable difference, that, in the former, unanimity of opinion was requisite in all measures of importance. A divided senate transmitted the business to the assembly of the people, [a reference which naturally laid the foundation for cabals and factions; which led the rich to court the populace, and descend to actions unbecoming their condition in life. In course of time every thing became venal, the commonwealth was neglected, and the leaders of the several parties thought only of themselves. But these things did certainly not take place so soon as might have have been expected.] A tribunal of 104 judges took cognisance of military operations and of the conduct of their generals. A superior council of five seems to have controlled the decisions of the larger tribunal. Two peculiarities of the Carthaginian policy have been censured by Aristotle. One was, that the same person might hold several employments or offices in the state; the other, that the poor were debarred from all offices of trust or importance. But the former of these is frequently both expedient and necessary, and the latter seems agreeable to the soundest policy; for in offices of trust, poverty offers too powerful an incitement to deviation from

duty. [The people were extremely superstitious, and their rites barbarous, human victims being often sacrificed. They were, also, proverbially treacherous and unfaithful. *Punica Fides*, and *Punica Religio*, are, in the classical writers, but other terms for hypocrisy and deceit.]

3. The first settlements made by the Carthaginians were entirely in the way of commerce, [which appears to have been the pursuit of all ranks and classes.] Trading to the coast of Spain for gold, they built Carthagena and Gades; and coasting along the western shore of Africa, they had establishments for the same purpose as far as the 25th degree of N. latitude. The *Periplus* of Hanno affords a proof of ardent enterprise and policy. Desirous of extending a limited territory, they armed against the Mauritanians, Numidians, and all the neighbouring nations; employing mercenary troops, which they levied, not only in Africa, but in Spain, the Gauls, and Greece.

4. The annals of the Carthaginian state are but little known till their wars with the Romans. The first of their wars mentioned in history is that with the Greek colonies of Sicily. Darius courted their alliance when he meditated the conquest of Greece, and Xerxes renewed that

treaty when he followed out the designs of his father.

XXXI.

HISTORY OF SICILY.

1. The early periods of the history of Sicily are no less unknown than those of Carthage. The Phœnicians had sent colonies thither before the Trojan war. The Greeks, in after times, made considerable settlements in the island. The Corinthians founded Syracuse, which became the most illustrious of the Greek cities of Sicily; and from Syracuse arose afterwards Agrigentum, Acra, Casmene, Camarene, and several other Sicilian towns.

2. The government of Syracuse was monarchical, and might long have remained so, had all its sovereigns inherited the abilities and virtues of Gelon, [who, though he managed to render himself absolute in point of power, governed his people with such equity and moderation, as to be accounted rather a friend to liberty than a tyrant, and as such died greatly and generally lamented.] But his successors, exercising the worst of tyranny, compelled their subjects at length to abolish the regal govern-

ment; and their example was speedily followed by all the Grecian states of Sicily.

3. The monarchy of Syracuse, however, was revived about sixty years after in the person of Dionysius, a man of obscure origin, but of signal ability. Twice expelled for a tyrannical exercise of dominion, he as often found means to overpower his enemies, and re-establish himself on the throne. [He prided himself much on being a poet; and though he failed on a rehearsal of some of his compositions at Olympia, he had a prize adjudged to him afterwards at Athens. He has the reputation of being the inventor of the military machine for throwing darts, spears, and large stones, known by the name of *Catapulta.*] On his death, the crown passed, without opposition, to his son, Dionysius the Younger, a weak and capricious tyrant, whom his subjects, judging unworthy to reign, dethroned and banished, 357 B. C. The crown was conferred on Dion, his brother-in-law: but this prince, whose amiable character rendered him the delight of his people, after a short reign, fell a victim to treason. Aided by the distractions of Syracuse consequent on this event, Dionysius remounted the throne, ten years after his expulsion; but his tyrannical disposition, heightened by his

misfortunes, became at length so intolerable, that he was expelled a second time, and banished to Corinth, where he ended his days in poverty and obscurity. The author of this revolution was the illustrious Timoleon [of Corinth, to whose abilities and virtues the Syracusans were indebted, not only for the recovery of their freedom from the tyranny of Dionysius, B. C. 343, but for the happiness and prosperity they enjoyed afterwards.]

THE signal opposition of national character between the Romans and Carthaginians may be easily accounted for, when we attend to the effects of a commercial life on the genius and manners of a nation. The vices of a commercial people are, selfishness, cunning, avarice, with an absence of every heroic and patriotic virtue. The favourable effects of commerce are, industry, frugality, general courtesy of manners, improvement in the useful arts. Attending to these consequences of the prevalence of the commercial spirit, we shall see the principal features of the Carthaginian character opposed to the Roman.

XXXII.

THE PUNIC WARS.

1. The triumph which the Romans had obtained over Pyrrhus seemed to give assurance of success in any enterprise in which they should engage. The Mamertines, a people of Campania, [who had been called into Sicily by Agathocles to assist him in his wars, being desirous of settling themselves in the island,] obtained aid from the Romans in an unjustifiable attempt which they made to seize Messina, a Sicilian town allied to Syracuse. The Syracusans, at first, assisted by the Carthaginians, opposed this invasion; but the former, more alarmed by the ambitious encroachments of the Carthaginians on Sicily, soon repented of this rash alliance, and joined the Romans in the purpose of expelling the Carthaginians entirely from the island. In fact, the Sicilians seem to have had only the desperate choice of final submission either to Rome or Carthage. They chose the former, as the alternative least dishonourable: the Romans had ever been their friends, the Carthaginians their enemies. [To the former it was become par-

ticularly valuable, from its large supplies of corn.]

2. Agrigentum, possessed by the Carthaginians, was taken, after a long siege, by the joint forces of Rome and Syracuse, and a Roman fleet, the first they ever had, [for the purposes of maritime warfare,] and equipped [in a most extraordinary manner in the compass of only] a few weeks, gained a complete victory over that of Carthage, at this time the greatest maritime power in the world, 260 B.C. These successes were followed by the reduction of Corsica and Sardinia. In a second naval engagement, the Romans took from the Carthaginians sixty of their ships of war, and now resolutely prepared for the invasion of Africa. The consul Regulus [the most consummate warrior Rome had to send out] commanded the expedition. He advanced to the gates of Carthage; and such was the general consternation, that the enemy proposed a capitulation. Inspirited, however, by a timely aid of Greek troops under Xantippus, the Carthaginians made a desperate effort, and defeating the Roman army, [with immense loss on the part of the latter,] made Regulus their prisoner. But repeatedly defeated in Sicily, [and jealous of the help they

had received from a stranger,] they became at length seriously desirous of a peace; and the Roman general was sent with their ambassadors to Rome to aid the negotiation, under a solemn oath to return to Carthage as a prisoner, should the treaty fail. It was rejected, [in a very extraordinary manner,] at the urgent desire of Regulus himself, who, [neglecting all private considerations, and renouncing every personal comfort,] sacrificed his [family, his property, and his] life, to what he judged the interest of his country. [He died by torture on his return to Africa.]

3. Lilybœum, the strongest of the Sicilian towns belonging to Carthage, was taken, after a siege of nine years. After some alternate successes, two naval battles won by the Romans terminated the war; and Carthage at last obtained a peace on the humiliating terms of abandoning to the Romans all her possessions in Sicily, the payment of 3200 talents of silver, the restitution of all prisoners without ransom, and a solemn engagement never to make war against Syracuse or her allies. The island of Sicily was now declared a Roman province, though Syracuse maintained her independent government, A. U. C. 511, and R. C. 241.

4. The peace between Rome and Carthage was of twenty-three years' duration. The latter power was recruiting her strength, and meditated to revenge her losses and disgrace. The second Punic war began on the part of the Carthaginians, who besieged Saguntum, a city of Spain in alliance with the Romans. The young Hannibal [who had been bred a soldier, under his father Hamilcar, and bound by oath to oppose the Romans,] took Saguntum, after a siege of seven months; the desperate inhabitants setting fire to the town, and perishing amidst the flames. Hannibal [in revenge of the insults offered by the Romans to his native city in Africa] now formed the bold design of carrying the war into Italy. He provided against every difficulty, gained to his interest a part of the Gallic tribes, passed the Pyrenees, and finally the Alps * in a toilsome march of five months and a half from his leaving Carthagena; and arrived in Italy with 20,000 foot and 6000 horse [though

* The passage of Hannibal over the Alps has been lately illustrated, in a most learned and ingenious essay, by Mr. Whitaker, (the celebrated historian of Manchester, and vindicator of Queen Mary,) who has, with great acuteness, traced every step of the Carthaginian general, from his crossing the Rhone to his final arrival in Italy.

the amount of his force has been differently estimated by different historians].

5. In the first engagement the Romans were defeated; and they lost two other important battles at Trebia and the lake Thrasymenus. In the latter of these the consul Flaminius was killed, and his army cut to pieces. Hannibal advanced to Cannæ in Apulia [under particular advantages, in regard to situation]; and the Romans there opposing him with their whole force, [through the rashness of the consul Terentius Varro,] a memorable defeat ensued, in which 40,000 were left dead upon the field, and amongst these the consul Æmilius, [who would have deferred the engagement,] and almost the whole body of the Roman knights. Had Hannibal taken advantage of this great victory, by instantly attacking Rome, the fate of the republic was inevitable; but he deliberated, and the occasion was lost. The Romans concentrated all their strength; even the slaves armed in the common cause; and victory once more attended the standards of the republic. Philip [the Second] King of Macedon joined his forces to the Carthaginians, [under a promise of invading Italy with 200 ships,] but, being defeated by [the consul] Lævinus, he speedily withdrew his assist-

ance. Hannibal retreated before the brave Marcellus. Syracuse had now taken part with Carthage, and thus paved the way for the loss of her own liberty. Marcellus besieged the city, which was long defended by the inventive genius of Archimedes, but taken in the third year by escalade in the night [Archimedes himself being slain in his own house by a Roman soldier]. This event put an end to the kingdom of Syracuse, which now became a part of the Roman province of Sicily, A. U. C. 542, B. C. 212.

6. While the war in Italy was prosperously conducted by the great Fabius, who, by constantly avoiding a general engagement, found the true method of weakening his enemy, the younger Scipio accomplished the entire reduction of Spain. Asdrubal was sent into Italy to the aid of his brother Hannibal, but was defeated by the consul Claudius, and slain in battle. Scipio, triumphant in Spain, [returned to Rome, and being made consul at the age of twenty-nine, and having Sicily assigned to him as his province, with a view to his attempts against the enemies of Rome,] passed over into Africa, and carried havoc and devastation to the gates of Carthage. Alarmed for the fate of their

empire, [Scipio having been joined by Massinissa, one of the most powerful chieftains of the country,] the Carthaginians hastily recalled Hannibal from Italy. The battle of Zama decided the fate of the war, by the utter defeat of the Carthaginians. They entreated a peace, which the Romans gave on these conditions: That the Carthaginians should abandon Spain, Sicily, and all the islands, surrender all their prisoners, give up the whole of their fleet except ten galleys, pay 10,000 talents, and, in future, undertake no war without the consent of the Romans, A. U. C. *552*, B. C. *202*.

7. Every thing now concurred to swell the pride of the conquerors, and to extend their dominion. A war with Philip of Macedon [professedly in support of the *freedom* of the Greeks] was terminated by his defeat; and his son Demetrius was sent to Rome as a hostage for the payment of a heavy tribute imposed on the vanquished. A war with Antiochus, King of Syria, [with whom Hannibal on his expulsion from Carthage had taken refuge,] ended in his ceding to the Romans [under the command of Lucius Scipio, brother of Scipio Africanus,] the whole of [his possessions in] the Lesser Asia. But these splendid conquests, while they en-

larged the empire, were fatal to its virtues, and subversive of the pure and venerable simplicity of ancient times. [The interval between the second and third Punic wars has been selected, by eminent writers, as the period in which the last rays of republican glory and virtue shed their lustre on Rome.]

8. The third Punic war began A. U. C. 605, B. C. 149, and ended in the ruin of Carthage. An unsuccessful war with the Numidians had reduced the Carthaginians to great weakness, and the Romans meanly laid hold of that opportunity to invade Africa. Conscious of their utter inability to resist this formidable power, the Carthaginians offered every submission, and consented even to acknowledge themselves the subjects of Rome. The Romans demanded 300 hostages, for the strict performance of every condition that should be enjoined by the senate. The hostages were given; and the condition required was, [the memorable sentence of the rigid Cato,] that Carthage itself should be "razed to its foundation." Despair gave courage to this miserable people, and they determined to die in the defence of their native city. [There is something bordering on the romantic in the accounts that have been given us of the

extent of their exertions.] But the noble effort was in vain. Carthage was taken by storm, [under Scipio Æmilianus,] its inhabitants massacred, and the city burnt to the ground, A. U. C. 607, B. C. 146.

9. The same year was signalised by the entire reduction of Greece under the dominion of the Romans [Macedonia having been previously subdued, and, to grace the triumph of Paulus Æmilianus, the last successor of Alexander, with his two sons, carried captive to Rome, and compelled to walk before the chariot of the victor]. This was the era of the dawn of luxury and taste at Rome, — the natural fruit of foreign wealth and an acquaintance with foreign manners. [In the struggle with the Grecians, Corinth, having fallen, was sacked by the Romans under Mummius, and many works of art and luxury fell into their hands, though the majority, as is supposed, perished in the flames; the riches of the Romans were increased greatly also by their plunder of Asia Minor.] In the unequal distribution of this imported wealth, the vices to which it gave rise, the corruption and venality of which it became the instrument, we see the remoter causes of those fatal disorders to which the republic owed its dissolution.

XXXIII.

THE GRACCHI, AND THE CORRUPTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

1. At this period arose Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, two noble youths, whose zeal to reform the growing corruptions of the state precipitated them at length into measures destructive of all government and social order. Tiberius, the elder of the brothers, [having been chosen tribune,] urged the people to assert by force the revival of an ancient law, for limiting property in land, and thus abridging the overgrown estates of the patricians. [To which end he procured three new officers to be appointed, whom he called *Triumviri*, and whose business it was to take strict account of every man's property, and to allow of no additions being made to it beyond the law.] A tumult was the consequence, in which Tiberius, with 300 of his friends, were killed in the forum. This fatal example did not deter his brother, Caius Gracchus, [who possessed greater abilities, and was more eloquent than Tiberius,] from pursuing [not

very long afterwards] a similar career of zeal or of ambition. After some successful experiments of his power, while in the office of tribune, he directed his scrutiny into the corruptions of the senate, and prevailed in depriving that body of its constitutional control over all the inferior magistrates of the state. Employing, however, like his brother, the dangerous engine of tumultuary force, [to which, indeed, he was a good deal provoked by the conduct of the senate,] he fell a victim to it himself, with 3000 of his partisans, who were slaughtered in the streets of Rome. The tumults attending the sedition of the Gracchi were the prelude to those civil disorders which now followed in quick succession to the end of the commonwealth.

2. The circumstances attending the war with Jugurtha [in Africa] gave decisive proof of the corruption of the Roman manners. Jugurtha, grandson of Massinissa, [the ally of Scipio,] sought to usurp the crown of Numidia by destroying his cousins, Hiempsal and Adherbal, the sons of the last king. He murdered the elder of the brothers; and the younger applying for aid to Rome, Jugurtha bribed the senate, who basely declared him innocent of all culpable act or design, and decreed to him the sovereignty

of half the kingdom. This operated only as an incentive to his criminal ambition. He declared open war against his cousin, besieged him in his capital of Cirta, and finally put him to death. To avert a threatened war, Jugurtha went in person to Rome, pleaded his own cause in the senate, and once more by bribery secured his acquittal from all charge of criminality. A perseverance, however, in a similar train of conduct [contrary to the advice and remonstrances of Scipio, who ably foresaw that he would fall a victim to the corruption he had stooped to encourage,] finally drew on him the vengeance of the Romans; and being betrayed into their hands by his own father-in-law, he was brought in chains to Rome, to grace the triumph of the consul Marius, confined to a dungeon, and starved to death, A.U.C. 651, B.C. 103.

3. The ambition of the allied states of Italy to attain the rights of citizenship produced the Social war, which ended in a concession of those rights to such of the confederates as should return peaceably to their allegiance. This war with the allies was a prelude to that which followed between Rome and her own citizens. Sylla and Marius, rivals, and thence enemies, were at this time the leaders of the republic. Sylla [having

obtained the] command of a war against Mithridates, [King of Pontus, who for many years defied the Roman power, in Europe as well as Asia, taking advantage of the dissensions at Rome,] was [through the intrigues of Marius] superseded, and recalled [on the eve of his departure for] Asia. He refused to obey the mandate; and found his army well disposed to support him. "Let us march to Rome," said they, with one voice; "lead us on to avenge the "cause of oppressed liberty." Sylla accordingly led them on, and they entered Rome sword in hand; Marius and his partisans fled with precipitation from the city, and Sylla ruled for a while triumphant. But the faction of his rival soon recovered strength. Marius, returning to Italy, and joining his forces to those of Cinna, his zealous partisan, laid siege to Rome; and, while Sylla was engaged in the Mithridatic war, [of the honours of which Marius had sought to deprive him,] compelled the city to absolute submission. After a horrible massacre of all whom they esteemed their enemies, Marius and Cinna proclaimed themselves consuls, without the formality of an election; but Marius died a few days after in a fit of debauch.

4. After a victorious campaign in Asia, Sylla

returned to Italy, and, joined by Cethegus, Verres, and the young Pompey, gave battle to the party of his enemies, and entirely defeated them. His entry into Rome was signalised by a dreadful massacre, and a proscription, which had for its object the extermination of every enemy whom he had in Italy. Elected dictator for an unlimited period, he was now without a rival in authority, and absolute master of the government, which, of course, was substantially no longer a republic. In the exercise of his dominion, he deserved more praise than in the means of acquiring it. He restored the senate to its judicial authority, regulated the election to all the important offices of state, and enacted many excellent laws against oppression and the abuse of power. Finally, he gave demonstration, if not of a pure conscience, at least of a magnanimous intrepidity of character, by voluntarily resigning all command, retiring to the condition of a private citizen, and offering publicly to give an account of his conduct, [and had not his retirement been disgraced by very unbecoming scenes of riot and intemperance, he might have ended his life with some degree of credit; but, too much like his rival, Marius, he appears to have sought to stifle all remorse of conscience, at the

last, with the fumes of intoxication]. He died [of a horrid disease, hastened probably by his great imprudencies,] within a short time after his resignation [about B. C. 78.]:—a man certainly of great strength of mind, and who had some of the qualities of an heroic character; but he lived in evil times, when it was impossible at once to be great and to be virtuous.

5. The death of Sylla renewed the civil war. Lepidus, a man of mean abilities, aspired to succeed him in power; and Pompey, with superior talents, cherished the same ambition. While the latter was employed in the reduction of the revolted provinces of Asia, the conspiracy of Catiline threatened the entire destruction of Rome. It was extinguished by the provident zeal and active patriotism of the consul Cicero; and Catiline himself, with his chief accomplices, were attacked in the field, and defeated by [the army under Petreius, lieutenant of the consul] Antonius [absent through illness]. The traitor made a desperate defence, and died a better death than his crimes had merited. [His party fought furiously to the very last, not so much with any hope of obtaining the advantage, as resolved to sell the victory as dearly as possible.]

6. Julius Cæsar now rose into public notice.

Sylla dreaded his abilities and ambition, and had numbered him among the proscribed. "There "is many a Marius," said he, "in the person of "that young man." He had learned prudence from the danger of his situation, and tacitly courted popularity, without that show of enterprise which gives alarm to a rival. While Pompey and Crassus contended for the command of the republic, Cæsar, who knew, that by attaching himself to either rival, he infallibly made the other his enemy, showed the reach of his talents by reconciling them, and thus acquiring the friendship of both. From favour to their mutual friend, they agreed to a partition of power; and thus was formed the first Triumvirate. Cæsar was elected consul. He increased his popularity by a division of lands among the poorer citizens, and strengthened his interest with Pompey, by giving him his daughter in marriage. He had the command of four legions, and the government of Transalpine Gaul and Illyria.

7. The military glory of the republic, and the reputation of Cæsar, were nobly sustained in Gaul. In the first year of his government he subdued the Helvetii, who, leaving their own country, had attempted to settle themselves in

the better regions of the Roman province. He totally defeated the Germans under Ariovistus, who had attempted a similar invasion. The Belgæ, the Nervii, the Celtic Gauls, the Suevi, Menapii, and other warlike nations, were all successively brought under subjection [Cæsar knowing as well how to take advantage of their dissensions at home as to get the better of them in the field]. In the fourth year of his government, he transported his army into Britain. Landing at Deal, he was opposed by the natives with equal courage and military skill. He gained, however, several advantages; and binding the Britons to submission, withdrew, on the approach of winter, into Gaul. He returned in the following summer with a greater force, and prosecuting his victories, reduced a considerable portion of the island under the Roman dominion, B. C. 54. But the pressure of affairs in Italy suspended for a time the progress of the Roman arms in Britain.

8. Cæsar dreaded the abilities of Cicero, who had opposed him in his views of ambition. By the machinations of his partisans, while himself absent in Gaul, he procured the banishment of Cicero, and the confiscation of his estates, on the pretence of illegal measures pursued in the

suppression of the conspiracy of Catiline. During an exile of sixteen months in Greece, Cicero gave way to a despondency of mind utterly unworthy of the philosopher. Pompey had abandoned him, and this ungrateful desertion bore most heavily upon his mind: but Pompey himself, in the wane of his reputation, soon became desirous to prop his own sinking fortunes by the abilities of Cicero, and eagerly promoted his recall from exile. The death of Crassus, in a rash expedition against the Parthians, [with whose country he was not sufficiently acquainted,] now dissolved the Triumvirate; and Cæsar and Pompey, whose union had no other bond than interest, began each to conceive separately the view of undivided dominion.

XXXIV.

PROGRESS OF THE CIVIL WARS. — SECOND TRIUMVIRATE. — AND FALL OF THE REPUBLIC.

1. The ambition of Cæsar and of Pompey had now evidently the same object; and it seemed to be the only question in those degenerate times, to which of these aspiring leaders the re-

public should surrender its liberties. The term of Cæsar's government was near expiring; but to secure himself against a deprivation of power, he procured a proposal to be made in the senate by one of his partisans, which wore the appearance of great moderation, namely, that Cæsar and Pompey should either both continue in their governments, or both be deprived of them, as they were equally capable of endangering the public liberty by an abuse of power. The motion passed; and Cæsar immediately offered to resign, on condition that his rival should do so; but Pompey rejected the accommodation: the term of his government had yet several years' duration, and he suspected the proposal to be a snare laid for him by Cæsar. He resolved to maintain his right by force of arms, and a civil war was the necessary consequence. The consuls and a great part of the senate were the friends of Pompey. Cæsar had on his side a victorious army, consisting of ten legions, and the body of the Roman citizens, whom he had won by his liberality. Mark Antony and Cassius, at that time tribunes of the people, left Rome, and repaired to Cæsar's camp.

2. The senate, apprehensive of his designs, pronounced a decree, branding with the crime

of parricide any commander who should dare to pass the Rubicon [a small rivulet near Ariminum, and] (the boundary between Italy and the Gauls) with a single cohort, without their permission. Cæsar [after meditating for some time on the irrevocable step he was disposed to take, at length] infringed the prohibition, [passed the Rubicon,] and marched straight to Rome. Pompey, to whom the senate committed the defence of the state, had no army. He quitted Rome, followed by the consuls and a part of the senate, and endeavoured hastily to levy troops over all Italy and Greece; while Cæsar triumphantly entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people, seized the public treasury, and possessed himself of the supreme authority without opposition. Having secured the capital of the empire, he set out to take the field against his enemies. [Pompey fled before him, and embarking at Brundusium abandoned Italy.] The lieutenants of Pompey had possession of Spain. Cæsar [apprehending that if he left them behind him, they might pass into Italy, and make it the seat of war in his absence,] marched thither, and subdued the whole country in the space of forty days, [contending with wonderful success, not merely against skilful commanders, but the greatest im-

pediments of a difficult country: his soldiers almost destitute of provisions, continually wading through rivers up to their necks, and by sudden marches frustrating all the attempts of the enemy. On the defeat of the lieutenants Afranius and Petreius, Cæsar] returned victorious to Rome, where, in his absence, he had been nominated dictator. In the succeeding election of magistrates he was chosen consul, and thus invested, by a double title, with the right of acting in the name of the republic. Pompey had by this time raised a numerous army, and Cæsar was anxious to bring him to a decisive engagement [by following him into the East. He was in such haste, that he embarked with only five out of twelve legions, which he had ordered to assemble at Brundusium. Some of the legions, harassed by such continual and distant removals, were slow in obeying his orders, till corrected by the shame of finding him gone without them, their sentiments changed, and before his ships could return to fetch them, they were eager to join his standard. But part of the fleet, in its way back to Italy, was taken and destroyed by one of Pompey's squadrons, and it was long before Cæsar felt himself sufficiently strong to offer battle to his rival. At

last they met] in Illyria, and the first conflict was of doubtful issue; but leading on his army to Macedonia, where they found a large reinforcement, [and thence to Thessaly,] he gave battle to Pompey in the field of Pharsalia, and entirely defeated him. Fifteen thousand were slain, and 24,000 surrendered themselves prisoners to the victor, A. U. C. 705, B.C. 49.

3. The fate of Pompey was miserable in the extreme. With his wife, Cornelia, the companion of his misfortunes, he fled to Egypt in a single ship, trusting to the protection of Ptolemy, whose father had owed to him his settlement on the throne. But the ministers of this young prince, dreading the power of Cæsar, basely courted his favour by the murder of his rival. Brought ashore in a small boat by the guards of the king, a Roman centurion, who had fought under his own banners, stabbed him, even in the sight of Cornelia, and cutting off his head, threw the body naked on the sands. — Cæsar pursued Pompey to Alexandria, where the head of that unhappy man, presented as a grateful offering, gave him the first intelligence of his fate. He wept, and turned with horror from the sight. He caused every honour to be paid to his memory, and from that time showed the

utmost beneficence to the partisans of his unfortunate rival.

4. The sovereignty of Egypt was in dispute between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra. The latter, though married to her brother, and joint heir by their father's will, was ambitious of undivided authority; and Cæsar, captivated by her charms, decided the contest in favour of the beauteous queen. A war ensued, in which Ptolemy was killed, and Egypt subdued by the Roman arms. In this war the famous library of Alexandria was burnt to ashes, B. C. 48. A revolt of the Asiatic provinces, under Pharnaces the son of Mithridates, was signally chastised, and the report conveyed by Cæsar to the Roman senate in three words, *Veni, vidi, vici.* The conqueror returned to Rome, which needed his presence; for Italy was divided, and the partisans of Pompey were yet extremely formidable. His two sons, with Cato and Scipio, were in arms in Africa [Juba king of Mauritania having joined them]. Cæsar [though at first strangely interrupted by a mutiny of his veteran troops, not excepting his favourite tenth legion,] pursued them thither, and proceeding with caution till secure of his advantage, defeated them in a decisive engagement at Thap-

sus. Scipio perished in his passage to Spain [while Juba and his general Petreius slew each other]. Cato, shutting himself up in Utica, meditated a brave resistance; but finally, seeing no hope of success, he determined not to survive the liberties of his country, and fell deliberately by his own hand. Mauritania was now added to the number of the Roman provinces, and Cæsar returned to Rome absolute master of the empire. [His triumph lasted four days, being, in fact, so many distinct triumphs; the first for Gaul; the second for Egypt; the third for his victories in Asia; and the last for Africa. The people were entertained at upwards of 20,000 tables: they requited his gratuities by heaping upon him all the titles and dignities of the state.]

5. From that moment his attention was directed solely to the prosperity and happiness of the Roman people. He remembered no longer that there had been opposite parties; beneficent alike to the friends of Pompey as to his own. He laboured to reform every species of abuse or grievance. He introduced order into every department of the state, defining the separate rights of all its magistrates, and extending his care to the regulation of its most distant pro-

vinces. The reformation of the kalendar, [the foundation of the Julian year, and bissextile computation, pronounced by Scaliger to be *omnium formarum temporibus convenientissima,*] the draining the marshes of Italy, the navigation of the Tiber, the embellishment of Rome, the complete survey and delineation of the empire, alternately employed his liberal and capacious mind. [He adorned the city with magnificent buildings, and caused Carthage and Corinth to be rebuilt, establishing colonies in both cities.] — Returning from the final overthrow of Pompey's party in Spain, he was hailed the father of his country, was created consul for ten years, and perpetual dictator. [One of the months of the year was appointed to be called after his name, statues were erected to him, and money stamped with his image; public sacrifices were appointed to be offered on his birth-day, and an apotheosis hinted at even during his life.] His person was declared sacred, his title henceforth *Imperator*, A. U. C. 709, B. C. 45.

6. The Roman republic had thus finally, by its own acts, resigned its liberties. They were not extinguished, as Montesquieu has well remarked, by the ambition of a Pompey or of a Cæsar. If the sentiments of Cæsar and Pompey

had been the same with those of Cato, others would have had the same ambitious thoughts; and since the commonwealth was fated to fall, there never would have been wanting a hand to drag it to destruction. Yet Cæsar had by force subdued his country; he therefore was an usurper; and had it been possible to restore the liberties of the republic, and with these its happiness, by the suppression of that usurpation, the attempt had merited the praise, at least, of good design. Perhaps so thought his murderers; and thus, however weak their policy, however base and treacherous their act, with many they will ever find apologists. They madly dreamed an impossible issue, as the event demonstrated.

7. A conspiracy was formed by sixty of the senators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius; the former a man beloved of Cæsar, who had saved his life, and heaped upon him numberless benefits. [But Brutus had imbibed the stern principles of Cato, and fancied that his name alone pointed him out as the restorer of the laws and liberty of Rome. Cassius had private piques against Cæsar.] It was rumoured that the dictator wished to add to his numerous titles that of king, and that the ides of March was

fixed on for investing him with the diadem. On that day, when taking his seat in the senate-house, [in contempt not only of certain omens, but of express warnings,] he was suddenly assailed by the conspirators: he defended himself for some time against their daggers, till, seeing Brutus amongst the number, he faintly exclaimed, "And you, too, my son!" and covering his face with his robe, resigned himself to his fate. He fell, pierced by twenty-three wounds, A. U. C. 711, B. C. 43 [in the fifty-sixth year of his age].

8. The Roman people were struck with horror at the deed; they loved Cæsar, master as he was of their lives and liberties. Mark Antony and Lepidus, ambitious of succeeding to the power of the dictator, resolved to pave the way by avenging his death. The people, to whom Cæsar, by his testament, had bequeathed a great part of his fortune, were penetrated with gratitude to his memory. A public harangue from Antony over the bleeding body, exposed in the forum, inflamed them with the utmost indignation against his murderers, who must have met with instant destruction, had they not escaped with precipitation from the city. Antony profited by these dispositions; and the avenger of

Cæsar, of course the favourite of the people, was in the immediate prospect of attaining a similar height of dominion. In this, however, he found a formidable competitor in Octavius, the grand-nephew and the adopted heir of Cæsar, who at this critical moment arrived in Rome. Availing himself of these titles, Octavius gained the senate to his interest, and divided with Antony the favour of the people. The rivals soon perceived that it was their wisest plan to unite their interests; and they admitted Lepidus into their association, whose power, as governor of Gaul, and immense riches, gave him a title to a share of authority. Thus was formed the second Triumvirate, the effects of whose union were beyond measure dreadful to the republic. The Triumviri divided among themselves the provinces, and cemented their union by a deliberate sacrifice made by each of his best friends to the vengeance of his associates. Antony consigned to death his uncle Lucius, Lepidus his brother Paulus, and Octavius his guardian Toranius, and his friend Cicero. In this horrible proscription 300 senators and 3000 knights were put to death. [Cicero fell by the hand of Popilius Lænas, whom he had successfully defended in a cause which affected his life. He died with dignity,

weary of the corrupt times in which he lived, having completed his sixty-third year.]

9. Octavius and Antony now marched against the conspirators, who had a formidable army in the field in Thrace, commanded by Brutus and Cassius. An engagement ensued at Philippi, which decided the fate of the empire. Antony was victorious, for Octavius had no military talents: he was destitute even of personal bravery; and his conduct after the victory was stained with that cruelty which is ever the attendant of cowardice. Brutus and Cassius escaped the vengeance of their enemies by a voluntary death. Antony now sought a recompense for his troops by the plunder of the East. While in Cilicia, he summoned Cleopatra to answer for her conduct in dethroning an infant brother, and in openly favouring the party of Brutus and Cassius. The queen came to Tarsus, and made a complete conquest of the Triumvir. Immersed in luxury, and intoxicated with love, he forgot glory, ambition, fame, and every thing for Cleopatra; and Octavius saw this frenzy with delight, as the preparative of his rival's ruin. He had nothing to dread from Lepidus, whose insignificant character first drew on him the contempt of his partisans; and whose folly,

in attempting an invasion of the province of his colleague, was punished by his deposition and banishment.

10. Antony had in his madness lavished the provinces of the empire in gifts to his paramour and her children. The Roman people were justly indignant at these enormities; and the divorce of his wife Octavia, the sister of his colleague, was at length the signal of declared hostility between them. An immense armament, chiefly naval, came to a decisive conflict near Actium, on the coast of Epirus. Cleopatra, who attended her lover, deserted him with her galleys in the heat of the engagement; and such was the infatuation of Antony, that he abandoned his fleet, and followed her. After a contest of some hours, they yielded to the squadron of Octavius, A. U. C. 723, B. C. 31. The victor pursued the fugitives to Egypt; and the base Cleopatra proffered terms to Octavius, including the surrender of her kingdom, and the abandonment of Antony. After an unsuccessful attempt at resistance, he anticipated his fate by falling on his sword. And Cleopatra soon after, either from remorse, or, more probably, from mortified ambition, as she found it was Octavius's design to lead her in chains to Rome to grace his

triumph, had courage to follow the example of her lover, and put herself to death by the poison of an asp. — Octavius returned to Rome, sole master of the Roman empire, A. U. C. 727, B. C. 25.

XXXV.

CONSIDERATIONS ON SUCH PARTICULARS AS MARK THE GENIUS AND NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE ROMANS.

SYSTEM OF ROMAN EDUCATION.

1. A VIRTUOUS but rigid severity of manners was the characteristic of the Romans under their kings, and in the first ages of the republic. The private life of the citizens, frugal, temperate, and laborious, had its influence on their public character. The *patria potestas* gave to every head of a family a sovereign authority over all the members that composed it; and this power, felt as a right of nature, was never abused. Plutarch has remarked, as a defect of the Roman laws, that they did not prescribe, as those of Lacedæmon, a system and rules for the education of youth. But the truth is, the manners of

the people supplied this want. The utmost attention was bestowed in the early formation of the mind and character. The excellent author of the dialogue *De Oratoribus* (whether Quintilian or Tacitus) presents a valuable picture of the Roman education in the early ages of the commonwealth, contrasted with the less virtuous practice of the more refined. The Roman matrons did not abandon their infants to mercenary nurses. They esteemed those duties sacred, and regarded the careful nurture of their offspring, the rudiments of their education, and the necessary occupations of their household, as the highest points of female merit. Next to the care bestowed in the instilment of virtuous morals, a remarkable degree of attention seems to have been given to the language of children, and to the attainment of a correctness and purity of expression. Cicero informs us, that the *Gracchi*, the sons of Cornelia, were educated *non tam in grœmio quam in sermone matris.* That urbanity which characterised the Roman citizens showed itself particularly in their speech and gesture.

2. The attention to the language of the youth had another source. It was by eloquence, more than by any other talent, that the young Roman

could rise to the highest offices and dignities of the state. The *studia forensia* were, therefore, a principal object of the Roman education. Plutarch informs us, that among the sports of the children at Rome one was the pleading causes before a mock tribunal, and accusing and defending a criminal in the usual forms of judicial procedure.

3. The exercises of the body were likewise particularly attended to; whatever might harden the temperament, and confer strength and agility. These exercises were daily practised by the youth, under the eye of their elders, in the Campus Martius.

4. At seventeen the youth assumed the manly robe. He was consigned to the care of a master of rhetoric, whom he attended constantly to the forum, or to the courts of justice; for, to be an accomplished gentleman, it was necessary for a Roman to be an accomplished orator. The pains bestowed on the attainment of this character, and the best instructions for its acquisition, we learn from the writings of Cicero, Quintilian, and the younger Pliny.

XXXVI.

OF THE PROGRESS OF LITERATURE AMONG THE ROMANS.

1. BEFORE the intercourse with Greece, which took place after the Punic wars, the Roman people were utterly rude and illiterate. As among all nations the first appearance of the literary spirit is shown in poetical composition, the Roman warrior had probably, like the Indian or the Celtic, his war-songs which celebrated his triumphs in battle. Religion, likewise, employs the earliest poetry of most nations; and if a people subsists by agriculture, a plentiful harvest is celebrated in the rustic song of the husbandman. The *Versus Fescennini* mentioned by Livy were probably of the nature of poetical dialogue, or alternate verses sung by the labourers, in a strain of coarse merriment and raillery. This shows a dawning of the drama.

2. About the 390th year of Rome, on occasion of a pestilence, *Ludiones* (drolls or stage-dancers) were brought from Etruria, *qui ad*

tibicinis modos saltantes, haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant. Livy tells us, that the Roman youth imitated these performances, and added to them rude and jocular verses, probably the Fescennine dialogues. It was not, however, till the year 514 A.U.C. that the regular drama was introduced at Rome from Greece by Livius Andronicus. The earliest Roman plays were, therefore, we may presume, translations from the Greek.

Post Punica bella quietus quærere cepit,
Quid Sophocles, et Thespis, et Æschylus utile ferrent.

3. Of the yearly Roman drama, Ennius was a great ornament, and from his time the art made rapid advancement. The comedies of Plautus, the contemporary of Ennius, with great strength and spirit of dialogue, display a considerable knowledge of human nature, and [though rather adapted to the taste of the lower orders, from their indelicacy, yet, owing to the purity of the Latin in which they are written, they] are read at this day with pleasure: [many passages, indeed, are to be found in them favourable not only to morality but religion.]

4. Cæcilius improved so much on the comedy of Plautus, that he is mentioned by Cicero as

perhaps the best of the Roman comic writers. Of his compositions we have no remains. His patronage fostered the rising genius of Terence, whose first comedy, the *Andria*, was performed A.U.C. 587. The merit of the comedies of Terence lies in that nature and simplicity which are observable alike in the structure of his fables, in the delineation of his characters, and in the delicacy and purity of the sentiments of his pieces [the subjects, however, not being always so unexceptionable as his language]. They are deficient in comic energy; and are not calculated to excite ludicrous emotions. [Being, as well as those of Plautus,] chiefly borrowed from the Greek of Menander and Apollodorus [they furnish no description of Roman manners].

5. The Roman comedy was of four different species; the *Comœdia Togata* or *Prætextata*, the *Comœdia Tabernaria*, the *Attellanæ*, and the *Mimi*. The first admitted serious scenes and personages, and was of the nature of the modern sentimental comedy. The second was a representation of ordinary life and manners. The *Attellanæ* were pieces where the dialogue was not committed to writing, but the subject of the scene was prescribed, and the dialogue filled up by the talents of the actors. The *Mimi* were

pieces of comedy of the lowest species; farces, or entertainments of buffoonery; though sometimes admitting the serious, and even the pathetic.

6. The Roman tragedy kept pace in its advancement with the comedy. The best of the Roman tragic poets were Actius and Pacuvius, of whom we have no remains. The tragedies published under the name of Seneca are generally esteemed the work of different hands. They are none of them of superlative merit.

7. Velleius Paterculus remarks, that the æra of the perfection of Roman literature was the age of Cicero; comprehending all of the preceding times whom Cicero might have seen, and all of the succeeding who might have seen him. Cicero, Quintilian, and Pliny, celebrate, in high terms, the writings of the elder Cato, whose principal works were historical, and have entirely perished. We have his fragments, *De Re Rustica*, in which he was imitated by Varro, one of the earliest of the good writers among the Romans, and a man of universal erudition. Of the variety of his talents we may judge, not only from the splendid eulogium of Cicero, but from the circumstance of Pliny having recourse to his authority in every book of his Natural History.

8. Sallust, in order of time, comes next to Varro. This writer introduced an important improvement on history, as treated by the Greek historians, by applying (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus says) the science of philosophy to the study of facts. Sallust is, therefore, to be considered as the father of philosophic history; a species of writing which has been so successfully cultivated in modern times. He is an admirable writer for the matter of his compositions, which evince great judgment and knowledge of human nature; but by no means commendable for his style and manner of writing. He affects singularity of expression, an antiquated phraseology, and a petulant brevity and sententiousness, which has nothing of the dignity of the historical style. [His exordiums are too long, and he will never be forgiven for the injustice with which he treated the character of Cicero, with whose divorced wife, Terentia, he had united himself in marriage. He had composed a history of Rome, which is lost.]

9. Cæsar has much more purity of style [than Sallust], and more correctness and simplicity of expression; but his Commentaries, wanting that amplitude of diction and fulness of illustration which is essential to history, are rather of the

nature of annals. [The principal beauty of the Commentaries is, that they make us acquainted with the author: the force of his genius, the depth of his designs, and the extent and variety of his plans, are to be traced in almost every page.]

10. In all the requisites of an historian, Livy stands unrivalled among the Romans; possessing consummate judgment in the selection of facts, perspicuity of arrangement, sagacious reflection, sound views of policy, with the most copious, pure, and eloquent expression. It has been objected, that his speeches derogate from the truth of history; but this was a prevalent taste with the ancient writers; and as those speeches are always known to be the composition of the historian, the reader is not deceived. [The prodigies he relates must also be referred to the circumstances of the times. The ancient world believed such things, and had not the means *we* have of judging properly of their utter incredibility.] As to the style of Livy, though in general excellent, we sometimes perceive in it, and most commonly in the speeches, an affectation of the pointed sentences (the *vibrantes sententiolæ*) and obscurity of the declaimers, which evinces the pernicious influence acquired

by those teachers at Rome since the time of Cicero and Sallust. [It is truly melancholy to think, how small a portion of so great a work has escaped the ravages of time: but Velleius Paterculus affords us assistance, when we are compelled to relinquish Livy.]

11. In the decline of Roman literature, Tacitus is an historian of no common merit. He successfully cultivated the method pointed out by Sallust, of applying philosophy to history. In this he displays great knowledge of human nature, and penetrates, with singular acuteness, into the secret springs of policy, and the motives of actions. But his fault is, that he is too much of a politician, drawing his characters after the model of his own mind; ever assigning actions and events to preconceived scheme and design, and allowing too little for the operation of accidental causes, which often have the greatest influence on human affairs. Tacitus, in his style, professedly imitated that of Sallust; adopting all the ancient phraseology, as well as the new idioms introduced into the Roman language by that writer. To his brevity and abruptness he added most of the faults of the declaiming school. His expression, therefore, though ex-

tremely forcible, is often enigmatically obscure; the very worst property that style can possess.

12. Among the eminent Roman poets (after the dramatic) Lucretius deserves first to be noticed. He has great inequality, being at some times verbose, rugged, and perplexed, and at others displaying all the elegance as well as the fire of poetry. This may be in great part attributed to his subject. Philosophical disquisition is unsuitable to poetry, It demands a dry precision of thought and expression, rejecting all excursive fancy and ornament of diction. That luxuriance of imagery, which is the soul of poetry, is raving and impertinence when applied to philosophy. [His celebrated poem founded on the precepts of Epicurus, was undoubtedly calculated to produce a gloomy scepticism in regard to some of the first principles of religion, whether natural or revealed; but in declaiming against various disorders and passions of the human mind he appears the friend of virtue.]

13. Catullus, the contemporary of Lucretius, is the earliest of the Roman lyric poets. His Epigrams are pointed and satirical, but too licentious; [the common fault of the times;] his Idyllia tender, natural, and picturesque. He

flourished in the age of Julius Cæsar. [He was the countryman and friend of Cornelius Nepos.]

14. In the succeeding age of Augustus, poetry attained to its highest elevation among the Romans. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus, were all contemporaries. Virgil is allowed the same rank among the Roman poets as Homer among the Greek. If Homer excels him in the sublime, he surpasses the Greek in the tender and the elegant. The transcendant merits of Homer are sullied by occasional defects; Virgil is the model of a correct taste. The difference of manner in the Bucolics, the Georgics, and the Æneid, shows that Virgil was capable of excelling in various departments of poetry; and such is the opinion of Martial, who affirms, that he could have surpassed Horace in Lyric Poetry, and Varius in Tragedy.

15. Horace excels as a lyric poet, a satirist, and a critic. In his Odes there is more variety than in those of either Anacreon or Pindar; and he can alternately display the sublimity of the one, and the jocose vein of the other. His Satires have that characteristic slyness and obliquity of censure, associated with humour and pleasantry, which strongly distinguish them from the stern and cutting sarcasm of Juvenal.

[Horace, indeed, though a satirist of no common stamp, seems to have possessed a degree of candour and equity, which rendered him indulgent towards human frailties.] As a critic, his rules are taken chiefly from Aristotle; but they contain the elements of a just taste in poetical composition, and therefore do not admit of variation. [Though he often writes as if he were a votary of Epicurus, we may easily collect from other parts of his works that he was not insensible to the attractions of a severer philosophy.] The Satires of Juvenal, compared with those of Horace, are deficient in facetiousness and urbanity; but they are superior in acuteness of thought, and in manly vigour of sentiment.

16. In variety of talent, without supreme excellence, and ease and elegance of numbers, no Roman poet has excelled Ovid. In his Metamorphoses particularly, with great fancy, we have specimens of the pathetic, the descriptive, the eloquent, and even the sublime. [The mythological stories they contain render them useful and instructive, while in the remains of his *Fasti*, or calendary verses, we find much that tends to illustrate and explain the religious rites, festivals, and sacrifices of the ancient Romans, and even to throw a considerable light on various

ceremonies and observances of the present day.] His elegies have more of nature and of real passion than those of either Tibullus or Propertius. His amatory verses have much tenderness, but are too frequently loose, and even grossly licentious.

17. There is nothing more elegant than the compositions of Tibullus, nothing more delicate than the turn of his expression; but it is not the language of passion. The sentiments are tender, but their power of affecting the heart is weakened by the visible care and solicitude of the poet for refined phraseology and polished numbers; nor is there either much fancy or variety of thought. A single elegy exhibits the sentiments of the whole.

18. Martial is the last of the Roman poets who can be mentioned with high approbation. His Epigrams, independently of their art and ingenuity, are valuable, as throwing light upon the Roman manners. He possesses, above every other poet, a *naïveté* of expression, which is chiefly observable in his serious Epigrams. He is well characterised by the younger Pliny, *ingeniosus, acer, et qui in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis, nec candoris minus.* Epist. iii. 21.

19. Luxuriance of ornament, and the fond-

ness for point, and brilliancy of thought and expression, are certain indications of the decline of good taste. These characters strongly mark the Latin poets of the succeeding ages. Lucan has some scattered examples of genuine poetic imagery, and Persius some happy strokes of animated satire; but they scarcely compensate the affected obscurity of the one and the bombast of the other. The succeeding poets, Statius, Silius Italicus, and Valerius Flaccus, in their attempts at the most difficult of all species of poetry, the Epic, have only more signally displayed the inferiority of their genius, and the manifest decay of the art.

XXXVII.

STATE OF PHILOSOPHY AMONG THE ROMANS.

1. THE Romans, in the earlier periods of the republic, had little leisure to bestow on the cultivation of the sciences, and had no idea of philosophical speculation. It was not till the end of the sixth century from the building of the city, and in the interval between the war with Perseus and the third Punic war, that philosophy made its first appearance at Rome. A few learned

Achæans, banished from their country, had settled in various parts of Italy, and, applying themselves to the cultivation of literature and the education of youth, diffused a taste for those studies hitherto unknown to the Romans. The elder citizens regarded these pursuits with an unfavourable eye. Jealous of the introduction of foreign manners with foreign studies, the senate banished the Greek philosophers from Rome. But an Athenian embassy arriving soon after, brought thither Carneades and Critolaus, who revived the taste for the Greek philosophy, and left behind them many able disciples, who publicly taught their doctrines.

2. It was natural that those systems should be most generally adopted which were most suitable to the national character. While the manners of the Romans had yet a tincture of ancient severity, the Stoical system prevailed. Scipio, Lælius, and the younger Cato, rank among its chief partisans.

3. The philosophy of Aristotle was little known in Rome till the age of Cicero. Cratippus and Tyrannion then taught his system with great reputation. Yet Cicero complains that the Peripatetic philosophy was little understood at Rome;

and, on that account, he sent his son to study its doctrines in the schools of Athens.

4. Lucullus, [whose military genius and warlike pursuits did not interfere with his taste for more intellectual and scientific enjoyments, and] whose stay in Greece gave him an opportunity of being acquainted with all the different sects, disseminated, on his return to Rome, a very general taste for philosophy. His patronage of learned men, [amidst the luxuries, and profuse expenses, of the retired scenes of his life,] and his liberality in allowing his library to be open for the public use, contributed greatly to the promotion of literature.

5. The Old and New Academy had each their partisans. Of the former, which may be termed the Stoico-Platonic, the most illustrious disciples were Marcus Brutus and Terentius Varro. To the philosophical talents of Brutus, and the universal erudition of Varro, [of whose literary productions so few have been preserved,] the writings of Cicero bear the most ample testimony. Cicero himself must be deemed the most eminent of all the Roman philosophers. He is classed among the principal supporters of the New Academy; though it seems rather to have been his purpose to elucidate the Greek phi-

losophy in general, than to rank himself among the disciples of any particular sect.

6. The cultivation of Physics, or Natural Philosophy, seems to have been little attended to either by the Greeks or Romans. Unless Agriculture should be classed under this description, we know of no Roman authors, except Varro and the elder Pliny, who seem to have bestowed much attention on the operations of nature. The works of the former have perished, except a few fragments; but the Natural History of Pliny is a most valuable storehouse of the knowledge of the ancients in Physics, Economics, and the Arts and Sciences. It is to be regretted that the style is unsuitable to the matter, being too frequently florid, declamatory, and obscure. [Western Europe, indeed, stands practically indebted to Rome for the introduction of many common fruits, and culinary plants, which in the course of her conquests in the East she was careful to collect, and transfer to Italy; such as apples, pears, cherries, and, in all likelihood, the olive, so much esteemed in France, Spain, and all the southern parts of the Continent.]

7. The philosophy of Epicurus was unknown in the early ages of the Roman commonwealth.

It was introduced with luxury, and kept pace in its advancement with the corruption of manners. Cineas having discoursed on the tenets of Epicurus at the table of Pyrrhus, Fabricius exclaimed, May the enemies of Rome ever entertain such principles! Yet these principles were, in a short time from that period, but too current among her own citizens.

XXXVIII.

OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MANNERS OF THE ROMANS.

1. The manners of the Romans in the early ages of the republic were so different from those of the latter times, that one should be led to suppose some very extraordinary causes to have co-operated to produce so remarkable a change: yet the transition is easy to be accounted for. A spirit of temperance, of frugality, and probity is the characteristic of every infant establishment. A virtuous simplicity of manners, and a rigour of military discipline, paved the way for the extension of the Roman arms, and for their prodigious conquests: these conquests introduced wealth, luxury, and corruption.

2. In the early times, the patricians, when in the country, forgot the distinction of ranks, and laboured in the cultivation of their fields like the meanest plebeians. We have the examples of Cincinnatus, Curius, the elder Cato, and Scipio Africanus. [The very names of some of the most distinguished families, as the *Lentuli*, *Pisones*, *Fabii*, &c., are supposed to have been assumed, expressly to mark the skill and success of the bearers of them in the cultivation of particular vegetables. It was accounted more noble to belong to one of the thirty-one *rustic*, than to either of the four *city* tribes.] The town was visited only every ninth or market-day. In those times of virtuous simplicity, says Sallust, *Domi militiæque boni mores colebantur.—Duabus artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat, æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant.* But when, in consequence of this very discipline, and these manners, the Romans had extended their dominion, they imported, with the wealth of the conquered nations, their tastes, their manners, and their vices.

3. The Romans had no natural taste in the fine arts. On the conquest of Greece, an immense field opened at once to their eyes, and the masterpieces of art poured in upon them in

abundance. But their excellences they could not appreciate. The Roman luxury, so far as the arts were concerned, was in general displayed in an awkward, heavy, and tasteless magnificence. [From the regal to the imperial government, the greatest persons appear to have worn clothes prepared by their wives and daughters. The robes made by Queen Tanaquil for the first Tarquin were preserved in the time of the Cæsars, and Augustus wore dresses prepared by the hand of Livia.]

4. The public and private life of the Romans will be best elucidated by a short account of the manner in which the day was passed at Rome, both by the higher and lower ranks of the people. The morning hours were spent by a part of the citizens in visiting the temples; by others, in attending the levees of the great. The *Clientes* waited on their *Patroni;* the patricians visited each other, or paid their compliments to the leaders of the republic. Popularity was always the first object of ambition at Rome, as paving the way to all advancement. From the levee they proceeded to the forum, either to assist in the public business, or for amusement. There the time was spent till noon, the hour of dinner among the Romans, chiefly a very light repast,

and of which it was not customary to invite any guests to partake. After dinner the youth repaired to the Campus Martius, where they occupied themselves in athletic exercises and sports till sunset. The elder class retired for an hour to repose, and then passed the afternoon in their porticoes, galleries, or libraries, where they enjoyed the conversation of their friends, or heard recitations of literary works: [even while they were in the baths they had persons to read to them:] others repaired to the theatres, or to the shows of the circus and amphitheatre.

5. Combats of gladiators were introduced for the first time about the 490th year of the city, and soon became a most favourite amusement, as did the combats with wild beasts. The spirit of luxury, which in general is not unfavourable to humanity, showed its progress among the Romans by an increasing ferocity and inhumanity of the public spectacles. Theatrical entertainments were in high request. (See *supra*, Sect. XXXVI. § 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.) The taste for pantomime came to such a height, that the art was taught in public schools, and the nobility and people were divided into parties in favour of

the rival performers: an abuse which called at length for the interposition of the laws.

6. From the porticoes, or from the theatre and amphitheatre, it was customary to go to the baths, of which there were many for the use of the public, while the rich had them in their own houses, vying with each other in this as in every other article of luxury or magnificence. From the bath they went immediately to supper, generally about the ninth or tenth hour, counting from sunrise. At table they reclined on couches. The luxury of the Roman suppers far exceeded every thing known among the moderns. An *antecœnium* of pickles and spices was presented, to prepare and sharpen the appetite. Cookery became a science. The number and costliness of the dishes were incredible. The entertainment was heightened by every thing gratifying to the senses; by male and female dancers, musicians, pantomimes, and even shows of gladiators.

7. In the end of the republic, pleasure and amusement were the darling objects of all ranks of the citizens: they sought no more than *panem et circenses.*

XXXIX.

OF THE ART OF WAR AMONG THE ROMANS.

1. From the prodigious success which attended the arms of the Romans, and that dominion they acquired over the greatest part of the known world, it seems a natural inference, that they must have carried the military art to a higher degree of perfection than any other of the contemporary nations. Vegetius expressly assigns their extensive conquests to that cause alone. It is the discipline of an army that makes the multitude act as one man. It likewise increases the courage of troops; for each individual confides in the steady co-operation of his fellows.

2. From the constant practice of athletic exercises, the Romans were inured from infancy to hardiness and fatigue, and bred to that species of life which a soldier leads in the most active campaign in the field.

3. The levies were made annually, by the tribes being called out, and divided into their respective number of centuries; each century presenting by rotation as many soldiers as there were legions intended to be raised; and the tribunes of the

several legions taking their turn by rotation in the selection of the men presented by the centuries. (See *suprà*, Sect. XXIV. § 16.) The number of soldiers in the legion was various at different periods, from 3000 to 10,000 and 11,000. [The term Legion, it may be well to observe, implied *selection:* among the disqualifications, poverty being accounted an insuperable one, it not being judged expedient or safe to intrust the fate of the community to persons who had nothing to lose.]

4. Among the ancient nations there were usually but two different arrangements of the troops in order of battle. The one the Phalanx, or close arrangement in parallelogram, intersected only by great divisions; a disposition commonly used by the Greeks and by most of the barbarous nations. The other the Quincunx, or Chequer, consisting of small companies or platoons, disposed in three straight lines, with alternate spaces between them equal to the space occupied by each company. In the first line were the *Hastati;* in the second, the *Principes;* and in the third, the *Triarii.* On the flanks of the first line were the cavalry, likewise in detached companies; and in front of the line were the *Velites,* or light-armed troops, who usually

began by a skirmishing attack, and then were withdrawn to make way for the main body to come into action. The arms of the legion were, for the *hastati* and *principes*, the *pilum* or heavy javelin, and the sword and buckler; and for the *triarii*, the long spear, with the sword and buckler. The advantages of this arrangement were, that the line of battle could be three times formed with fresh troops, and that it was more fitted than any other for rapid changes of movement. [From the spear of the *triarii*, the Romans are supposed to have acquired their appellation *Quirites;* it being a weapon adopted from the Sabines, and in their language called *Quiris*, according to the following line of Ovid:

"Sive quod hasta *Quiris* priscis est dicta Sabinis."
Fast. ii.]

5. Notwithstanding these advantages, the *quincunx* went into disuse towards the end of the republic; and from that time various arrangements of the legion were used, according to circumstances. The tactic of the Romans is supposed to have been at its greatest pitch of excellence during the Punic wars. Hannibal was a great master of the science, and the Romans profited by the experience of his ability.

The battle of Cannæ, as described by Polybius, affords signal evidence of the great talents of the Carthaginian general. That description has been misrepresented by Folard, but is accurately explained in the *Mémoires Militaires* of M. Guischardt, [the Quintus Icilius of Frederic the Second of Prussia]. Had the quincunx disposition been kept by the Roman army in that engagement, the event might have been very different, as it would have disappointed the effect of an artful manœuvre planned by Hannibal on observing his enemy's army arranged in the unusual order of the phalanx. [The *Cuneus* and *Forceps* were among the most curious arrangements; the former being in the form of a *wedge*, which, by being ably directed against any weak part of the enemy's forces, was sure to penetrate the ranks with irresistible force. To counteract such operations the *forceps* was invented, which, by suddenly opening to receive the wedge, and then closing upon it, committed the greatest slaughter; the *cuneus* being from its form incapable of any retrograde movement.]

6. The art of intrenchment was carried to great perfection by the Romans, particularly by Julius Cæsar. With 60,000 men he defended

himself in his intrenchments before Alexia, while the lines of circumvallation were attacked by 242,000 Gauls, and the lines of countervallation by 80,000, without effect. These intrenchments consisted of a ditch from nine to fifteen feet in depth and width, fenced on the inside by the mound of excavated earth, and on the outside by strong stakes with pointed branches.

7. In besieging a town, several camps were formed around the place, joined to each other by lines of circumvallation and countervallation. A mound of earth (*agger*) was raised, beginning by a gentle slope from one of the camps, and gradually rising in elevation as it approached the city. The front, where the workmen were employed, was defended by a curtain of hides fixed on strong posts. On this mound the engines of attack, *Catapultæ* for the discharge of heavy stones, and *Balistæ* for arrows, were advanced, till they played on the very spot which the besiegers wished to assail. The same machines were used by the besieged for annoying the enemy. When the batteries from the terrace had silenced those on the walls, the battering-ram (*aries*) was then brought up under a pent-house (*testudo*), and, if it once reached the wall, was generally decisive of the fate of the town.

The main object of the besieged was, therefore, to prevent its approach by every power of annoyance. Stones, darts, and combustible matters, were continually launched upon the assailants; and sometimes a mine was dug from the city, to scoop away the terrace and all its engines. — These arts of attack and defence of fortified places were in general use among the nations of antiquity, and continued down to modern times, till the invention of gunpowder.

8. The naval military art was utterly unknown among the Romans till the first Punic war. A Carthaginian galley was the first model; and in the space of two months they equipped a fleet of 100 galleys of five banks of oars, and 20 of three banks. The structure of these galleys, and the mode of arranging the rowers, may be learned from the ancient sculptures and medals; [but there was more difficulty in making mariners than ships: they were obliged to learn the art of navigation on shore, as it were, and to adopt such a mode of warfare as enabled them to fight, indeed, but more like soldiers than sailors]. The combatants at sea assailed at a distance with javelins, missile combustibles, and sometimes with *catapultæ* and *balistæ;* but the serious attack was made in boarding, when the vessels

grappled together by means of a crane let down from the prow.

9. In the times of the empire, the Romans maintained their distant conquests, not only by their armies, but by their fleets, which were moored in the large rivers and bays, and generally preserved a fixed station, as did the legions.

XL.

REFLECTIONS ARISING FROM A VIEW OF THE ROMAN HISTORY DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.

1. THE history of all nations evinces that there is an inseparable connection between the morals of a people and their political prosperity. But we have no stronger demonstration of this truth than the annals of the Roman commonwealth. To limit to republics alone the necessity of virtue as a principle, is a chimeral notion fraught with dangerous consequences. *Quid leges sine moribus vanæ proficiunt*, is a sentiment equally applicable to all governments whatever; and no political system, however excellent its *fabric*, can possess any measure of duration, without that powerful cement, virtue, in the principles

and manners of the people. (*Supra*, Sect. XIX. § 4.)

2. The love of our country, and the desire for its rational liberty, are noble and virtuous feelings, and their prevalence is ever a test of the integrity of the national morals. But there is no term which has been more prostituted than the word liberty. Among a corrupted people, the cry for liberty is heard the loudest among the most profligate of the community. With these its meaning has no relation to patriotism; it imports no more than the aversion to restraint; and the personal character of the demagogue, and the private morals of his disciples, are always sufficient to unmask the counterfeit. The spirit of patriotism, and a general corruption of manners, cannot possibly be co-existent in the same age and nation.

3. On the other hand, while the morals of a people are pure, no public misfortune is irretrievable, nor any political situation so desperate that hope may not remain of a favourable change. In such a crisis, the spirit of patriotism pervading all ranks of the state will soon recover the national prosperity. The history of the Roman empire, and that of the Grecian states, in various crises, both of honour and of

disgrace, afford proofs alike of this position and of its converse.

4. The national character of the Romans seems to have undergone its most remarkable change for the worse, from the time of the destruction of their rival Carthage. Sallust assigns the cause: *Ante Carthaginem deletam,* —— *metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia invasere.*

5. In the last ages of the commonwealth, avarice and ambition; unrestrained by moral principle, were the chief motives of the Roman conquests. It was sufficient reason for going to war, that a country offered a tempting object to the rapacity and ambition of the military leaders. The conquest of Italy paved the way for the reduction of foreign nations. Hence the Romans imported, with their wealth, the manners, the luxuries, and the vices of the nations they subdued. The generals returned not, as formerly, after a successful war, to the labours of the field, and to a life of temperance and industry. They were now the governors of kingdoms and provinces; and at the period of their command abroad, disdaining the restraints of a subject,

they could be satisfied with nothing less than sovereignty at home. The armies, debauched by the plunder of kingdoms, were completely disposed to support them in all their schemes of ambition; and the populace, won by corruption, always took part with the chief who best could pay for their favour and support. Force or bribery over-ruled every election; and the inhabitants of distant states, now holding the rights of citizens, were brought to Rome at the command of the demagogue, to influence any popular contest, and turn the scale in his favour. In a government thus irretrievably destroyed, by the decay of those springs which supported it, it was of little consequence by the hands of what particular tyrant, usurper, or demagogue, its ruin was finally accomplished.

6. From the consideration of the rise and fall of the principal states of antiquity, it has been a commonly received observation, that the constitution of empires has, like the human body, a period of growth, maturity, decline, and extinction. But arguments from analogy are extremely deceiving, and particularly so when the analogy is from physical to moral truths. The human body is, from its fabric, naturally subject to decay, and is perpetually undergoing a change

from time. The organs, at first weak, attain gradually their perfect strength; and thence, by a similar gradation, proceed to decay and dissolution. This is an immutable law of its nature. But the springs of the body-politic do not necessarily undergo a perpetual change from time. It is not regularly progressive from weakness to strength, and thence to decay and dissolution; nor is it under the influence of any principle of corruption which may not be checked, and even eradicated, by wholesome laws. Thus, the beginning of the corruption of Sparta is attributed to the breach by Lysander of the institutions of Lycurgus, in introducing gold into the treasury of the state instead of her iron money. But was this a necessary or an unavoidable measure? Perhaps a single vote in the senate decreed its adoption, and therefore another suffrage might have saved, or long postponed, the downfall of the commonwealth. The Roman republic owed its dissolution to the extension of its dominions. Had it been a capital crime for any Roman citizen to have proposed to carry the arms of the republic beyond the limits of Italy, its constitution might have been preserved for many ages beyond the period of its actual duration. "Accustom your "mind," said Phocion to Aristias, "to discern,

" in the fate of nations, that recompence which " the great Author of nature has annexed to the " practice of virtue. No state ever ceased to " be prosperous but in consequence of having " departed from those institutions to which she " owed her prosperity." History, indeed, has shown, that all states and empires have had their period of duration; but history, instructing us in the causes which have produced their decline and downfall, inculcates also this salutary lesson, that they themselves are in general the masters of their destiny, and that all nations may, and most certainly ought to, aspire at immortality.

7. It was a great *desideratum* in ancient politics, that a government should possess within itself the power of periodical reformation; a capacity of checking any overgrowth of authority in any of its branches, and of winding up the machine, or bringing back the constitution to its first principles. To the want of such a power in the states of antiquity, which was ineffectually endeavoured to be supplied by such partial contrivances as the Ostracism and Petalism, we may certainly ascribe in no small degree the decay of those states; for in their governments, when the balance was once destroyed, the evil grew worse from day to day, and admitted of no re-

medy but a revolution, or entire change of the system. — The British constitution possesses this inestimable advantage over all the governments both of ancient and of modern times: — Besides the perpetual power of reform vested in parliament, the constitution may be purified of every abuse, and brought back to its first principles, at the commencement of every reign. But of this we shall afterwards treat in its proper place.

XLI.

ROME UNDER THE EMPERORS.

1. The battle of Actium decided the fate of the commonwealth, and Octavius, now named Augustus, was master of the Roman empire. He possessed completely the sagacity of discerning what character was best fitted for gaining the affections of the people he governed, and the versatility of temper and genius to assume it. His virtues, though the result of policy, not of nature, were certainly favourable to the happiness, and even to the liberties, of his subjects. The fate of Cæsar warned him of the insecurity of an usurped dominion; and, therefore, while

he studiously imitated the engaging manners and clemency of his great predecessor, he affected a much higher degree of moderation and respect for the rights of the people.

2. The temple of Janus was shut, which had been open for 188 years, since the beginning of the second Punic war; an event productive of universal joy. "The Romans (says Condillac) "now believed themselves a free people, since "they had no longer to fight for their liberty." The sovereign kept up this delusion, by maintaining the ancient forms of the republican constitution, in the election of magistrates, &c., though they were nothing more than forms. He even pretended to consider his own function as merely a temporary administration for the public benefit. Invested with the consulate and censorship, he went through the regular forms of periodical election to those offices; and at the end of the seventh year of his government actually announced to the senate his resignation of all authority. The consequence was a general supplication of the senate and people, that he would not abandon the republic, which he had saved from destruction. "Since it must "be so, (said he,) I accept the empire for ten "years, unless the public tranquillity should

"before that time permit me to enjoy that "retirement I passionately long for." He repeated the same mockery five times in the course of his government, accepting the administration sometimes for ten, and sometimes only for five years.

3. It was much to the credit of Augustus, that in the government of the empire he reposed unlimited confidence in Mecænas, a most able minister, who had sincerely at heart the interest and happiness of the people. It was by his excellent counsels that all public affairs were conducted, and the most salutary laws enacted for the remedy of public grievances, and even the correction of the morals of the people. It was to his patronage that literature and the arts owed their encouragement and advancement. It was by his influence and wise instructions that Augustus assumed those virtues to which his heart was a stranger, and which, in their tendency to the happiness of his subjects, were equally effectual as if the genuine fruits of his nature. [When seated on the judgment-seat, (it may be said as much to the credit of the emperor as of the minister,) Augustus submitted to be checked by his faithful counsellor, when about to pass a too severe, if not an unrighteous sentence.

Mecænas threw a paper to him, inscribed with these words, — "*Descend from the tribunal, thou butcher!*" The Emperor restrained his passion, left the tribunal, and forebore to pass the impending sentence on the trembling criminals.]

4. On the death of Marcellus, the nephew and son-in-law of Augustus, (23 B.C.) a prince of great hopes, the Emperor bestowed his chief favour on Marcus Agrippa; giving him his daughter Julia, the widow of Marcellus, in marriage. Agrippa had considerable military talents, and was successful in accomplishing the reduction of Spain, and subduing the revolted provinces of Asia. Augustus associated him with himself in the office of censor, and would probably have given him a share of the empire; but the death of Agrippa occasioned a new arrangement. The daughter of Augustus now took for her third husband Tiberius, who became the son-in-law of the Emperor by a double tie, for Augustus had previously married his mother Livia. This artful woman, removing all of the imperial family who stood betwixt her and the object of ambition, thus made room for the succession of her son Tiberius, who, on his part, bent all his attention to gain the favour and confidence of Augustus. On the return of Tiberius

from a successful campaign against the Germans, the people were made to solicit the Emperor to confer on him the government of the provinces and the command of the armies. Augustus now gradually withdrew himself from the cares of empire. He died soon after at Nola in Campania, in the 76th year of his age, and 44th of his imperial reign, A. U. C. 767, and A. D. 14. [The empire at the time of his death may be said to have been bounded on the west by the Atlantic ocean, on the north by the Rhine and Danube, on the east by the Euphrates, and on the south by the deserts of Africa and Arabia. Roads issuing from the forum at Rome, in all directions, kept up a communication with the several provinces to an extent of 4000 miles.]

5. A considerable part of the lustre thrown on the reign of Augustus is owing to the splendid colouring bestowed on his character by the poets and other authors who adorned his court, and repaid his favours by their adulation. Assuredly, other sovereigns of much higher merits have been less fortunate in obtaining the applause of posterity:

——————— Illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

[6. He was the child of fortune, whose gifts were wasted upon him as far as regarded the empire he established. He availed himself very adroitly of the events and accidents which led to his own elevation, but he did little or nothing to advance the permanent interests of his people; he very unfeelingly delivered them over to a successor of whose ill qualities he could not but be aware; it has even been imputed to him by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius, that he adopted Tiberius expressly with the view, that when he himself should be removed by death, the remembrance of his own reign might be the more grateful and popular.] One great event distinguished the reign of Augustus,—the birth of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, which, according to the best authorities, happened in the 754th year A. U. C., and four years before the vulgar date of the Christian era. *

7. Augustus had named Tiberius his heir, together with his mother Livia, and substituted to them Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and Germanicus. Tiberius was vicious, debauched, and cruel; yet the very dread of his character

* *Vide* Dr. Playfair's System of Chronology, p. 49, 50.; a work of great research and accuracy, and by far the best on that subject.

operated in securing an easy succession to the empire. An embassy from the senate entreated him to accept the government, which he modestly affected to decline, but suffered himself to be won by their supplications. Notwithstanding this symptom of moderation, it soon appeared that the power enjoyed by his predecessor was too limited for the ambition of Tiberius. It was not enough that the substance of the republic was gone, the very appearance of it was now to be demolished. The people were no longer assembled, and the magistrates of the state were supplied by the imperial will.

8. Germanicus, the nephew of Tiberius, became the object of his jealousy, from the glory he had acquired by his military exploits in Germany, and the high favour in which he stood with the Roman people. He was recalled in the midst of his successes, and despatched to the oriental provinces, where he soon after died, as was generally believed, of poison administered by the Emperor's command.

9. Ælius Sejanus, præfect of the prætorian guards, the favourite counsellor of Tiberius, and the obsequious minister of his tyranny and crimes, conceived the daring project of a revolution, which should place himself on the throne, by

the extermination of the whole imperial family. Drusus, the son of the Emperor, was cut off by poison. Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, with the elder of her sons, was banished, and the younger confined to prison. Tiberius himself was persuaded by Sejanus, under the pretence of the discovery of plots for his assassination, to retire from Rome to the Isle of Capreæ, and devolve the government upon his faithful minister. But while Sejanus, thus far successful, meditated the last step to the accomplishment of his wishes, by the murder of his sovereign, his treason was detected; and the Emperor despatched his mandate to the senate, which was followed by his immediate sentence and execution. The public indignation was not satisfied with his death: the populace tore his body to pieces, and flung it into the Tiber.

10. Tiberius now became utterly negligent of the cares of government; and the imperial power was displayed only in public executions, confiscations, and scenes of cruelty and rapine; [while nothing, by all accounts, could have exceeded the disgusting immoralities of his private life, and by which he appears almost to have stamped a perpetual disgrace on the otherwise very interesting and beautiful place of his retirement.]

At length the tyrant, falling sick, was strangled in his bed by Macro, the præfect of the prætorian guards, in the 78th year of his age, and 23d of his reign.

11. In the 18th year of Tiberius, our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, the Divine Author of our religion, suffered death upon the cross, a sacrifice and propitiation for the sins of mankind, A. D. 33.

12. Tiberius had nominated for his heir Caligula, the son of Germanicus, his grandson by adoption; and joined with him Tiberius, the son of Drusus, his grandson by blood. The former enjoyed, on his father's account, the favour of the people; and the senate, to gratify them, set aside the right of his colleague, and conferred on him the empire undivided. The commencement of his reign was signalised by a few acts of clemency and even good policy. He restored the privileges of the Comitia, [which had been suspended by his predecessor,] and abolished arbitrary prosecutions for crimes of state. But, tyrannical and cruel by nature, he substituted military execution for legal punishment. The provinces were loaded with the most oppressive [and before unheard of] taxes, and daily [cruel and capricious] confiscations [helped to] fill the

imperial coffers. The follies and absurdities of Caligula were equal to his vices, [and were they not well attested, would exceed all belief]. It is hard to say whether he was most the object of hatred or of contempt to his subjects. [But they submitted to him too long. Seneca's reflection, that nature seemed to have brought him forth, to show what was possible to be produced by the greatest vice supported by the greatest authority, is but a faint description of matters. There was as much of insanity as vice in his proceedings; and he should have been restrained. If it were mere vice, the agents, ministers, and executioners of his perverse will, the panders to his exorbitant passions, the abettors of his odious tyranny, were found amongst the people; and his subjects must bear their share of the indignities heaped upon his memory: but Tacitus, perhaps, has justly accounted for their apathy and forbearance. *Cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa sub imperium accepit* (*populus*). Caligula, at length, however, as might have been expected,] perished by assassination, in the 4th year of his reign, and 29th of his age, A. U. C. 794, A. D. 42.

13. Claudius, the uncle of Caligula, was saluted Emperor by the prætorian guards, who had been the murderers of his nephew. He

was the grandson of Octavia, the sister of Augustus; a man of weak intellects, and of no education; yet his short reign was marked by an enterprise of importance. He undertook the reduction of Britain; and, after visiting the island in person, [in the second year of his reign,] left his generals, Plautius and Vespasian, to prosecute a war which was carried on for several years with various success. The Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, under their king Caractacus (Caradoc), made a brave resistance, but were finally defeated, and Caractacus led captive to Rome, where the magnanimity of his demeanour procured him respect and admiration.

14. The civil administration of Claudius was weak and contemptible. [Though, as was the case with the emperors who resembled him, the commencement of his reign promised better things: he executed certain public works of great utility, and with no small magnificence, such as the draining of the lake Fucinus, and turning its waters into the Tiber; but more particularly his celebrated aqueduct, which bore his name, conveying water to the metropolis from the distance of 40 miles.] He [soon, however, became] the slave even of his domestics, and the dupe of his infamous wives, Messalina and Agrippina. The

former, abandoned to the most shameful profligacy, was at length put to death on suspicion of treasonable designs. The latter, who was the daughter of Germanicus, bent her utmost endeavours to secure the succession to the empire to her son Domitius Ænobarbus, and employed every engine of vice and inhumanity to remove the obstacles to the accomplishment of her wishes. Having, at length, prevailed on Claudius to adopt her son, and confer on him the title of Cæsar, to the exclusion of his own son Britannicus, she now made room for the immediate elevation of Domitius, by poisoning her husband. Claudius was put to death in the 15th year of his reign, and 63d of his age.

XLII.

1. The son of Agrippina assumed the name of Nero Claudius. He had enjoyed the benefit of a good education under the philosopher Seneca, but reaped from his instructions no other fruit than a pedantic affectation of taste and learning, with no real pretension to either. While controlled by his tutor Seneca, and by Burrhus, captain of the prætorian guards, a man of worth and ability, Nero maintained for a short

time a decency of [private as well as] public conduct: [he was kind, condescending, affable, and polite, and seemed to have nothing more at heart than the good of his people; but these apparent virtues were all hollow and artificial: the restraint became in a short time intolerable, and his real character displayed itself in all its horrid features; it was soon found, in short, to be] a compound of every thing that is base and inhuman. In the murder of his mother Agrippina, he revenged the crime she had committed in raising him to the throne; he rewarded the fidelity of Burrhus by poisoning him; and as a last kindness to his tutor Seneca, he allowed him to choose the mode of his death. It was his darling amusement to exhibit on the stage and amphitheatre, [not in Italy only, but in Greece,] as an actor, musician, or gladiator; [so much to the annoyance, often, of his auditors and spectators, who were forbidden to depart till the exhibition was concluded, that they had recourse to expedients, sometimes the most hazardous, at others the most absurd, to procure their earlier dismissal; and yet such was the abject state of the world at that period, that he is reported to have received not less than eighteen hundred crowns, and most of them at the Isthmian, Ne-

mean, and Pythian games]. At length become the object of universal hatred and contempt, a rebellion of his subjects, headed by Vindex, an illustrious Gaul, hurled this monster from the throne. He had not courage to attempt resistance, [and he knew not how to die, till] a slave, at his own request, despatched him with a dagger. Nero perished in the 30th year of his age, after a reign of fourteen years, A. D. 69.

2. Galba, the successor of Nero, was of an ancient and illustrious family. He was in the 73d year of his age when the senate, ratifying the choice of the prætorian bands, proclaimed him Emperor. But an impolitic rigour of discipline soon disgusted the army: the avarice of his disposition, grudging the populace their favourite games and spectacles, deprived him of their affections; and some iniquitous prosecutions and confiscations excited general discontent and mutiny. Galba adopted and designed for his successor the able and virtuous Piso; a measure which excited the jealousy of Otho, his former favourite, and led him to form the daring plan of raising himself to the throne by the destruction of both. He found the prætorians apt to his purpose: they proclaimed him Emperor, and presented him, as a grateful offer-

ing, the heads of Galba and Piso, who were slain in quelling the insurrection. Galba had reigned seven months, *Major privato visus* (says Tacitus) *dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.*

3. Otho had a formidable rival in Vitellius, who had been proclaimed Emperor by his army in Germany. It is hard to say which of the competitors was, in point of abilities, the more despicable, or in character the more infamous. A decisive battle was fought at Bedriacum, near Mantua, where the army of Otho was defeated, and their commander, in a fit of despair, ended his life by his own hand, after a reign of three months, A. D. 70. [Had his reign been prolonged, we cannot pretend to say what sort of a sovereign he might have become; but during the very short time he acted as Emperor, he appears to have manifested a much better disposition, and to have displayed more virtues, than from his conduct as a private person he could have been supposed to possess.]

4. The reign of Vitellius was of eight months' duration. He is said to have proposed Nero for his model; and it was just that he should resemble him in his fate. Vespasian, who had obtained from Nero the charge of the war

against the Jews, which he had conducted with ability and success, was proclaimed Emperor by his troops in the East; and a great part of Italy submitting to his generals, Vitellius meanly capitulated to save his life by a resignation of the empire. The people, indignant at his dastardly spirit, compelled him to an effort of resistance; but the attempt was fruitless. Priscus, one of the generals of Vespasian, took possession of Rome, and Vitellius was massacred, and his body flung into the Tiber.

5. Vespasian, though of mean descent, was worthy of the empire, and reigned with high popularity for ten years. He possessed great clemency of disposition, his manners were affable and engaging, and his mode of life was characterised by simplicity and frugality. He respected the ancient forms of the constitution, restored the senate to its deliberative rights, and acted by its authority in the administration of all public affairs. The only blemish in his character was a tincture of avarice; and even that is greatly extenuated by the laudable and patriotic use which he made of his revenues.—Under his reign, and by the arms of his son Titus, was terminated the war against the Jews. They had been brought under the yoke of

Rome by Pompey, who took Jerusalem. Under Augustus they were governed for some time by Herod as viceroy; but the tyranny of his son Archelaus was the cause of his banishment, and the reduction of Judea into the ordinary condition of a Roman province. Rebelling on every slight occasion, Nero had sent Vespasian to reduce them to order; and he had just prepared for the siege of Jerusalem, when he was called to Rome to assume the government of the empire. Titus wished to spare the city, and tried every means to prevail on the Jews to surrender: but in vain; their ruin was decreed by Heaven. After an obstinate blockade of six months, Jerusalem was taken by storm, the Temple burnt to ashes, and the city buried in ruins. — The Roman empire was now in profound peace. Vespasian associated Titus in the imperial dignity, and soon after died, universally lamented, at the age of sixty-nine, A. D. 79.

6. The character of Titus was humane, munificent, dignified, and splendid. His short reign was a period of great happiness and prosperity to the empire; and his government a constant example of virtue, justice, and beneficence. In his time happened that dreadful eruption of Vesuvius which overwhelmed the cities of Hercu-

laneum and Pompeii, [and in which the elder Pliny fell a victim to his love for the study of nature. The public losses incurred by these calamities, Titus] repaired by the sacrifice of his fortune and revenues. He died in the third year of his reign, and fortieth of his age; ever to be remembered by that most exalted epithet, *Deliciæ humani generis.*

7. Domitian, the brother of Titus, and suspected of murdering him by poison, succeeded to the empire, A. D. 81. He was a vicious and inhuman tyrant. A rebellion in Germany gave him occasion to signalise the barbarity of his disposition; and its consequences were long felt in the sanguinary punishments inflicted under the pretence of justice. [His assumption of the cognomen *Germanicus* was no better than a burlesque upon himself, as intimating a victory over persons whom in reality he never had subdued.] The prodigal and voluptuous spirit of this reign was a singular contrast to its tyranny and inhumanity. The people were loaded with insupportable taxes to furnish spectacles and games for their amusement. The successes of Agricola in Britain threw a lustre on the Roman arms, no part of which reflected on the Emperor, for [being jealous of his fame] he used

this eminent commander with the basest ingratitude. After fifteen tedious years, this monster fell at last, the victim of assassination; the Empress herself [who had accidentally found her own name in his tablets as one of the persons doomed to die] conducting the plot for his murder, A. D. 96.

8. Cocceius Nerva, a Cretan by birth, was chosen Emperor by the senate, from respect to the virtues of his character; but too old for the burden of government, and of a temper too placid for the restraint of rooted corruptions and enormities, his reign was weak, inefficient, and contemptible. His only act of real merit, as a sovereign, was the adoption of the virtuous Trajan [a Spaniard by birth] as his successor. Nerva died, after a reign of sixteen months, A. D. 98.

9. Ulpius Trajanus possessed every talent and every virtue that can adorn a sovereign. Of great military abilities, and an indefatigable spirit of enterprise, he raised the Roman arms to their ancient splendour, and greatly enlarged the boundaries of the empire. He subdued the Dacians, conquered the Parthians, and brought under subjection Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia Felix. Nor was he less eminent in pro-

moting the happiness of his subjects, and the internal prosperity of the empire. His largesses were humane and munificent. He was the friend and support of the virtuous indigent, and the liberal patron of every useful art and talent. His bounties were supplied by a well judged economy in his private fortune, and a wise administration of the public finances. In his own life he was a man of simple manners, modest, affable, fond of the familiar intercourse of his friends, and sensible to all the social and benevolent affections [not disdaining, sometimes, in private company, to exceed the bounds of strict temperance, but subject to this singular precaution, — a positive injunction previously given to his ministers, never to carry into execution any orders he might at such times chance to issue]. In a word, [he so lived and ruled, as very justly to] merit the surname universally bestowed on him, *Trajanus Optimus*. [He had studied philosophy under the celebrated Plutarch, which probably rendered him not insensible to the mild remonstrances of Pliny, who ventured to interpose in favour of the Christians, whom, contrary to his general disposition, he was inclined to view with too jealous an eye, — the only blot perhaps in his character; the most

estimable qualities being in him so balanced, as to leave little room for excess in any.] He died at the age of sixty-three, after a glorious reign of nineteen years, A. D. 117.

10. Ælius Adrianus, [by descent a Spaniard,] nephew of Trajan, and worthy to fill his place, was chosen Emperor by the army in the East, and his title was acknowledged by all orders of the state. He adopted a policy different from that of his predecessor; and, judging the limits of the empire too extensive, abandoned all the conquests of Trajan, bounding the eastern provinces by the Euphrates. He visited in person the whole provinces of the empire, reforming, in his progress, all abuses, relieving his subjects of every oppressive burden, rebuilding the ruined cities, and establishing every where a regular and mild administration under magistrates of approved probity and humanity. [Though compelled to punish a revolt of the Jews severely, he remitted the sentence of persecution issued against the Christians, on the interposition of Granianus the proconsul of Asia.] He gave a discharge to the indigent debtors of the state, and appointed liberal institutions for the education of the children of the poor. [His public works were numerous; and though in some in-

stances complimentary to himself, as is shown in the names of Ælia and Adrianople bestowed on the cities he rebuilt, he was not unmindful of the fame of others: he adorned the tomb of Epaminondas at Mantinea; rebuilt and beautified the one placed over the remains of Pompey in Egypt; and completed the temple of Jupiter Olympus, begun by Antiochus Epiphanes; he built also a library at Athens.] To the talents of an able politician, he joined an excellent taste in the liberal arts. [He could compose both in verse and prose; excelled as an orator; was deeply versed in the mathematics, and skilful in physic; in drawing, painting, and music, he displayed no inconsiderable abilities; but his talents for business exceeded all his other attainments.] His reign, [in short, which lasted nearly] twenty-two years, was an era of public happiness and splendour, [of peace and prosperity]. In the last year of his life, [which disease rendered sadly distressing to him,] he bequeathed to the empire a double legacy, in adopting and declaring for his immediate successor Titus Aurelius Antoninus, and substituting Annius Verus to succeed upon his death. These were the Antonines, who for forty years ruled the Roman empire with consummate wisdom, ability, and

virtue. Adrian died, A. D. 138, at the age of sixty-two.

XLIII.

AGE OF THE ANTONINES, &c.

1. THE happiest reigns furnish the fewest events for the pen of history. Antoninus was the father of his people. He preferred peace to the ambition of conquest; yet in every necessary war the Roman arms had their wonted renown. The British province was enlarged by the conquests of Urbicus; and some formidable rebellions were subdued in Germany, Dacia, and the East. The domestic administration of the sovereign was dignified, splendid, and humane. With all the virtues of Numa, his love of religion, peace, and justice, he had the superior advantage of diffusing these blesssings over a great portion of the world. [For his friendship, alliance, and advice, were solicited and courted by the most distant nations; over some of which he was even requested to appoint a king, whom they were afterwards careful and even proud to obey. He succoured and relieved the oppressed Christians, forbidding any to molest them on the

score of religion: he favoured and rewarded learned persons, and established funds for the advancement of education.] He died at the age of seventy-four, after a reign of twenty-two years, A.D. 161.

2. Annius Verus assumed, at his accession, the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; and he bestowed on his [adopted] brother Lucius Verus a joint administration of the empire. The former was as eminent for the worth and virtues of his character, as the latter was remarkable for profligacy, meanness, and vice. Marcus Aurelius was attached both by nature and education to the Stoical philosophy, which he has admirably taught and illustrated in his *Meditations;* and his own life was the best commentary on his precepts. The Parthians were repulsed in an attack upon the empire, and a rebellion of the Germans was subdued. In these wars the mean and worthless Verus brought disgrace upon the Roman name in every region where he commanded; but fortunately relieved the empire of its fears by an early death. The residue of the reign of Marcus Aurelius was a continued blessing to his subjects. He reformed the internal policy of the state; regulated the government of the provinces; and visited himself, for the pur-

poses of beneficence, the most distant quarters of his dominions. "He appeared," says an ancient author, "like some benevolent deity, "diffusing around him universal peace and hap- "piness." He died in Pannonia, in the 59th year of his age, and 19th of his reign, A. D. 180, [and with him seem to have expired the glory and prosperity of the Roman empire].

3. Commodus, his most unworthy son, succeeded to the empire on his death. He resembled in character his mother Faustina, a woman infamous for all manner of vice, but who yet had passed with her husband Marcus for a paragon of virtue. [The extreme contrast between the characters of Aurelius and Commodus, and the resemblance of the latter to his mother, naturally led people to question his legitimacy: it is doubtful whether he himself did not harbour the same suspicions.] Commodus had an aversion to every rational and liberal pursuit, and a fond attachment to the sports of the circus and amphitheatre, the hunting of wild beasts, and the combats of boxers and gladiators. The measures of this reign were as unimportant as the character of the sovereign was contemptible. His concubine and some of his chief officers prevented their own destruction by assassinating

the tyrant, in the 32d year of his age, and 13th of his reign, A.D. 193.

4. The prætorian guards gave the empire to Publius Helvius Pertinax, a man of mean birth, but who had risen to esteem by his virtues and military talents. He applied himself with zeal to the correction of abuses; but the austerity of his government deprived him of the affections of a corrupted people. He had disappointed the army of a promised reward; and after a reign of eighty-six days was murdered in the imperial palace by the same hands which had placed him on the throne.

5. The empire was now put up to auction by the prætorians, and was purchased by Didius Julianus; [a man of great wealth, and eminent as a lawyer;] while Pescenius Niger in Asia, Clodius Albinus in Britain, and Septimius Severus in Illyria, were each chosen Emperor by the troops they commanded. Severus [an African by birth] marched to Rome; and the prætorians, on his approach, abandoned Didius, who had failed to pay the stipulated price for his elevation, and the senate formally deposed and put him to death. Severus, master of Rome, [after very properly degrading the prætorian soldiers who had so basely put the empire up to

sale,] prepared to reduce the provinces which had acknowledged the sovereignty of Niger and Albinus; and these two rivals being successively subdued, the one lost his life in battle, and the other fell by his own hands. The administration of Severus was wise and equitable, but tinctured with despotic rigour. It was his purpose to erect the fabric of absolute monarchy, and all his institutions operated with able policy to that end. He possessed eminent military talents; and it was a glorious boast of his, that having received the empire oppressed with foreign and domestic wars, he left it in profound, universal, and honourable peace. He carried with him into Britain his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, whose unpromising dispositions clouded his latter days. In this war the Caledonians under Fingal are said to have defeated, on the banks of the Carron, *Caracul*, the son of the king of the world. [Though finally compelled to sue for peace, they certainly contributed largely to the reduction of the Roman army, which also suffered considerably from the rigours of a northern climate.] Severus died at York, in the 66th year of his age, after a reign of eighteen years, A.D. 211.

6. The mutual hatred of Caracalla and Geta [who happened to be of very different disposi-

tions] was increased by their association in the empire; and the former, with brutal inhumanity, caused his [more mild and placid] brother to be openly murdered in the arms of his mother. His reign, which was of six years' duration, and one continued series of atrocities, was at length terminated by assassination, A.D. 217. [He was not, indeed, neglectful of the embellishment of the city of Rome; his baths, in particular, were of singular magnificence.]

7. Those disorders in the empire which began with Commodus continued for about a century, till the accession of Diocletian. That interval was filled by the reigns of Macrinus, Heliogabalus, [a monster of wickedness and folly,] Alexander Severus, Maximin, Gordian, Philip Decius, Gallus, Valerianus, Gallienus, Claudius, Aurelianus, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus; a period of which the annals furnish neither amusement nor useful information. [Though they afford a striking proof of the very low estate to which the empire was reduced under the tyranny of the soldiery, six princes being cut off by the sword in the short space of three years. In the reign of Gallienus no less than thirty different persons, in the several provinces, assumed the rights of sovereignty at the

head of their respective armies; not one, however, was allowed to enjoy a moment's peace, or to die a natural death.] The single exception [to the tumultuous and perplexed proceedings of the above period] is the reign of Alexander Severus, a mild, beneficent, and enlightened prince, whose character shines the more from the contrast of those who preceded and followed him. [Of Decius, indeed, whose reign was too short to admit of his doing any thing very considerable, it may be observed, that he displayed virtues which reminded his subjects of the times of Trajan, whose name he bore. The character of Claudius, also, promised great things, had his reign of less than two years been prolonged. By his victories over the northern nations he acquired the title of *Gothicus*.]

8. Diocletian began his reign, A. D. 284, and introduced a new system of administration, dividing the empire into four governments, under as many princes. Maximian shared with him the title of Augustus; and Galerius and Constantius were declared Cæsars. Each had his separate department or province, all nominally supreme, but in reality under the direction of the superior talents and authority of Diocletian; an unwise policy, which depended

for its efficacy on individual ability alone. [Neither of these princes chose to reside at Rome; Diocletian making Nicomedia in Bithynia the seat of his empire; and Maximian, Milan. This had, as might have been expected, a great effect on the power of the senate, and other ancient institutions. The civil offices of consul, proconsul, censor, and tribune, were suppressed, and the foundations laid, for what soon after took place, the establishment of another capital, and the division of the empire.] Diocletian and Maximian, trusting to the continuance of that order in the empire which their vigour had established, formally retired from sovereignty, and left the government in the hands of the Cæsars; but Constantius died soon after in Britain, and his son Constantine was proclaimed Emperor at York, though Galerius did not acknowledge his title [and set up Severus in opposition to him; allowing Constantine, indeed, to be Cæsar, but giving the title of Augustus to Severus]. Maximian, however, having once more resumed the purple, bestowed on Constantine his daughter in marriage, and thus invested him with a double title to empire. On the death of Maximian and Galerius, Constantine had no other immediate competitor

than Maxentius, the reputed son of the former [for Licinius, who had been declared Cæsar by Galerius in the room of Severus, together with his colleague Maximin, were in the eastern provinces]. The contest between [Constantine and Maxentius] was soon decided by the sword. Maxentius fell in battle, and Constantine [after the death of both his eastern competitors, Maximin in 313, and Licinius, who after marrying his sister, and acting with him as joint emperor, died in opposition to him,] remained sole master of the empire.

9. The administration of Constantine was, in the beginning of his reign, mild, equitable, and politic. Though zealously attached to the Christian faith, he made no violent innovations on the religion of the state. He introduced order and economy into the civil government, and repressed every species of oppression and corruption. But his natural temper was severe and cruel; and the latter part of his reign was as much deformed by intolerant zeal and sanguinary rigour, as the former had been remarkable for equity and benignity. From this unfavourable change of character, he lost the affections of his subjects; and, from a feeling probably of reciprocal disgust, he removed the

seat of the Roman empire to Byzantium, now termed Constantinople [originally a Grecian colony, well situated for trade, and admirably calculated to become the seat of empire]. The court followed the sovereign; the opulent proprietors were attended by their slaves and retainers; [the common people received gifts of money and corn;] Rome was in a few years greatly depopulated, and the new capital swelled at once to enormous magnitude. It was characterised by eastern splendour, luxury, and voluptuousness; and the cities of Greece were despoiled for its embellishment. [But the most remarkable of the new-erected edifices were the churches, to the number of fourteen, appropriated to the worship of the true God, and the rites of Christianity.] Of the internal policy of the empire we shall treat in the next section. In an expedition against the Persians, [seven years after the dedication of the new city,] Constantine died at Nicomedia, in the 30th year of his reign, and 63d of his age, A. D. 337. In the time of Constantine, the Goths had made several irruptions on the empire, and, though repulsed and beaten, began gradually to encroach on the provinces.

XLIV.

STATE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE.—HIS SUCCESSORS.

1. In lieu of the ancient republican distinctions, which were founded chiefly on personal merit, a rigid subordination of rank and office now went through all the orders of the state. The magistrates were divided into three classes, distinguished by the unmeaning titles of, 1. The Illustrious; 2. The Respectable; 3. The *Clarissimi.* The epithet of Illustrious was bestowed on, 1. The consuls and patricians; 2. The prætorian prefects of Rome and Constantinople; 3. The masters-general of the cavalry and infantry; 4. The seven ministers of the palace. The consuls were created by the sole authority of the Emperor; their dignity was inefficient, they had no appropriate function in the state, and their names served only to give the legal date to the year. The dignity of patrician was not, as in ancient times, a hereditary distinction, but was bestowed, as a title of honour, by the Emperor on his favourites. From the time of the abolition of the prætorian bands by Con-

stantine, the dignity of prætorian præfect was conferred on the civil governors of the four departments of the empire. These were, the East, Illyria, Italy, and the Gauls. They had the supreme administration of justice and of the finances, the power of supplying all the inferior magistracies in their district, and an appellative jurisdiction from all its tribunals. Independent of their authority, Rome and Constantinople had each its own præfect, who was the chief magistrate of the city. In the second class, the Respectable, were the proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and Africa, and the military *comites* and *duces*, generals of the imperial armies. The third class, *Clarissimi*, comprehended the inferior governors and magistrates of the provinces, responsible to the præfects and their deputies.

2. The intercourse between the court and provinces was maintained by the construction of roads, and the institution of regular posts or couriers; under which denomination were ranked the numberless spies of government, whose duty was to convey all sorts of intelligence from the remotest quarters of the empire to its chief seat. Every institution was calculated to support the fabric of despotism. Torture was employed for the discovery of crimes. Taxes and

impositions of every nature were prescribed and levied by the sole authority of the Emperor. The quantity and rate was fixed by a *census* made over all the provinces, and part was generally paid in money, part in the produce of the lands; a burden frequently found so grievous as to prompt to the neglect of agriculture. Every object of merchandise and manufacture was likewise highly taxed. Subsidies, moreover, were exacted from all the cities, under the name of free gifts, on various occasions of public concern; as, the accession of an emperor, his consulate, the birth of a prince, a victory over the Barbarians, or any other event of similar importance.

3. An impolitic distinction was made between the troops stationed in the distant provinces and those in the heart of the empire. The latter, termed *Palatines*, enjoyed a higher pay, and more peculiar favour; and, having less employment, spent their time in idleness and luxury: while the former, termed the *Borderers*, who, in fact, had the care of the empire, and were exposed to perpetual hard service, had, with an inferior reward, the mortification of feeling themselves regarded as of meaner rank than their fellow-soldiers. Constantine, likewise, from

a timid policy of guarding against mutinies of the troops, reduced the legion from its ancient complement of 5000, 6000, 7000, and 8000, to 1000 or 1500, and debased the body of the army by the intermixture of Scythians, Goths, and Germans.

4. This immense mass of heterogeneous parts, which internally laboured with the seeds of dissolution and corruption, was kept together for some time by the vigorous exertion of despotic authority. The fabric was splendid and august; but it wanted both that energy of constitution and that real dignity which, in former times, it derived from the exercise of heroic and patriotic virtues.

5. Constantine, with a destructive policy, had divided the empire among five princes, three of them his sons, and two nephews; but Constantius, the youngest of the sons, finally got rid of all his competitors, and ruled the empire alone with a weak and impotent sceptre. A variety of domestic broils, and mutinies of the troops against their generals, had left the western frontier to the mercy of the barbarian nations. The Franks, Saxons, Alemanni, and Sarmatians, laid waste all the fine countries watered by the Rhine; and the Persians made dreadful incursions on the

provinces of the East. Constantius indolently wasted his time in theological controversies, but was prevailed on to adopt one prudent measure, — the appointment of his cousin Julian to the dignity of Cæsar.

6. Julian possessed many heroic qualities, and his mind was formed by nature for the sovereignty of a great people; though educated [as a Christian, and outwardly conforming for some time to its principles and discipline, he had unfortunately imbibed] at Athens, in the schools of the Platonic philosophy, [during his exile from the court,] a rooted antipathy to the doctrines of the Gospel. With every talent of a general, and possessing the confidence and affection of his troops, he once more restored the glory of the Roman arms, and successfully repressed the invasions of the Barbarians. His victories excited the jealousy of Constantius, who meanly resolved to remove from his command the better part of his troops. The consequence was a declaration of the army, that it was their choice that Julian should be their Emperor. Constantius escaped the ignominy that awaited him by dying at this critical juncture, [in Cilicia,] and Julian was immediately acknowledged sovereign of the Roman empire.

7. The reformation of civil abuses formed the first object of his attention; which he next turned to the reformation, as he thought, of religion, by the suppression of Christianity. He began by reforming the Pagan theology, and sought to raise the character of its priests, by inculcating purity of life and sanctity of morals; thus bearing involuntary testimony to the superior excellence, in those respects, of that religion which he laboured to abolish. [Though it must be acknowledged it did not receive the countenance it might have done from the correspondent manners of its own priesthood. After the church became triumphant, the passions of the latter hurried them into excesses very contrary to the pure spirit of the religion they taught.] Without persecuting, Julian attacked the Christians by the more dangerous policy of treating them with contempt, and removing them, as visionaries, from all employments of public trust. He refused them the benefit of the laws to decide their differences, because their religion forbade all dissensions; and they were debarred the studies of literature and philosophy, which they could not learn but from Pagan authors. He was himself, as a Pagan, the slave of the most bigotted superstition; believing in omens and

auguries, and fancying himself favoured with an actual intercouse with the gods and goddesses. To avenge the injuries which the empire had sustained from the Persians, Julian marched into the heart of Asia, and was for some time in the train of conquest, when, in a fatal engagement, though crowned with victory, he was slain at the age of thirty-one, after a reign of three years, A. D. 363.

8. The Roman army was dispirited by the death of its commander. They chose for their Emperor, Jovian, [a Pannonian by birth,] a captain of the domestic guards, and purchased a free retreat from the dominions of Persia by the ignominious surrender of five provinces, which had been ceded by a former sovereign to Galerius [including Nisibis, the most important garrison on the eastern frontier]. The short reign of Jovian, a period of only seven months, [for he died before he reached Constantinople,] was mild and equitable. He favoured Christianity, and restored its votaries to all their privileges as subjects. He died suddenly at the age of thirty-three.

9. Valentinian was chosen Emperer by the army on the death of Jovian; a man of obscure birth and severe manners, but of considerable

military talents. He associated with himself in the empire his brother Valens, to whom he gave the dominion of the eastern provinces, reserving to himself the western. The Persians, under Sapor, were making inroads on the former, and the latter was subject to continual invasion from the northern Barbarians. They were successfully repelled by Valentinian in many battles; and his domestic administration was wise, equitable, and politic. The Christian religion was favoured by the Emperor, though not promoted by the persecution of its adversaries; a contrast to the conduct of his brother Valens, who, intemperately supporting the Arian heresy, set the whole provinces in a flame, and drew a swarm of invaders upon the empire in the guise of friends and allies, who in the end entirely subverted it. These were the Goths, who, migrating from Scandinavia, had, in the second century, settled on the banks of the Palus Mæotis, and thence gradually extended their territory. In the reign of Valens they took possession of Dacia, and were known by the distinct appellation of Ostrogoths and Visigoths, or Eastern and Western Goths; a remarkable people, and whose manners, customs, government, and laws, are afterwards to be particularly noted.

10. Valentinian died on an expedition against the Quadi, and was succeeded in the empire of the West by Gratian, his eldest son, a boy of sixteen years of age, A. D. 367. Valens, in the East, was the scourge of his people. The Huns, a new race of barbarians, of Tartar or Siberian origin, now poured down on the provinces both of the West and East. The Goths, comparatively a civilised people, fled before them. The Visigoths, who were first attacked, requested protection from the empire, and Valens imprudently gave them a settlement in Thrace. The Ostrogoths made the same request, and, on refusal, forced their way into the same province. Valens gave them battle at Adrianople; his army was defeated, and he himself slain in the engagement. The Goths, unresisted, ravaged Achaia and Pannonia.

11. Gratian, a prince of good dispositions, but of little energy of character, assumed Theodosius as his colleague [a Spaniard by birth, and said to be allied to the family of Trajan]; who, on the early death of Gratian, and minority of his son Valentinian II., governed with great ability, both the Eastern and Western empire. The character of Theodosius, deservedly surnamed *the Great*, was worthy of the best ages

of the Roman state. He successfully repelled the encroachments of the Barbarians, and secured, by wholesome laws, the prosperity of his people; [having succeeded in restoring peace to every part of the empire]. He died, after a reign of eighteen years, assigning to his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, the separate sovereignties of East and West, A. D. 395.

XLV.

PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION FROM ITS INSTITUTION TO THE EXTINCTION OF PAGANISM IN THE REIGN OF THEODOSIUS.

1. The reign of Theodosius was signalised by the downfal of the Pagan superstition, and the full establishment of the Christian religion in the Roman empire. This great revolution of opinions is highly worthy of attention, and naturally induces a retrospect to the condition of the Christian church from its institution down to this period.

It has been frequently remarked, because it is an obvious truth, that the concurrence of circumstances at the time of our Saviour's birth

was such as, while a Divine revelation seemed to be then more peculiarly needed, the state of the world was remarkably favourable for the extensive dissemination of the doctrines it conveyed. The union of so many nations under one power, and the extension of civilisation, were favourable to the progress of a religion which prescribed universal charity and benevolence. The gross superstitions of Paganism, and its tendency to corrupt instead of purifying the morals, contributed to explode its influence with every thinking mind. Even the prevalent philosophy of the times, Epicurism, more easily understood than the refinements of the Platonists, and more grateful than the severities of the Stoics, tended to degrade human nature to the level of the brute creation. The Christian religion, thus necessary for the reformation of the world, found its chief partisans in those who were the friends of virtue, and its enemies among the votaries of vice.

2. The persecution which the Christians underwent from the Romans has been deemed an exception to that spirit of toleration they showed to the religions of other nations; but they were tolerating only to those whose theologies were not hostile to their own. The religion of the

Romans was interwoven with their political constitution. The zeal of the Christians, aiming at the suppression of all idolatry, was not unnaturally regarded as dangerous to the state; and hence they were the object of hatred and persecution. In the first century, the Christian church suffered deeply under Nero and Domitian; yet those persecutions had no tendency to check the progress of its doctrines.

3. It is a matter of question what was the form of the primitive church, and the nature of its government; and on this head much difference of opinion obtains, not only between the Catholics and Protestants, but between the different classes of the latter, as the Lutherans and Calvinists. It is moreover an opinion, that our Saviour and his Apostles, confining their precepts to the pure doctrines of religion, have left all Christian societies to regulate their frame and government in the manner best suited to the civil constitutions of the countries in which they are established.

4. In the second century, the books of the New Testament were collected into a volume by the elder fathers of the church, and received as a canon of faith. The Old Testament had been translated from the Hebrew into Greek,

by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 284 years before Christ. The early church suffered much from an absurd endeavour of the more learned of its votaries to reconcile its doctrines to the tenets of the Pagan philosophers; hence the sects of the Gnostics and Ammonians, and the Platonising Christians. The Greek churches began in the second century to form provincial associations, and establish general rules of government and discipline. Assemblies were held, termed *Synodi* and *Concilia*, over which a metropolitan presided. A short time after arose the superior order of Patriarch, presiding over a large district of the Christian world; and a subordination taking place even among these, the Bishop of Rome was acknowledged the chief of the Patriarchs. Persecution still attended the early church, even under those excellent princes, Trajan, Adrian, and the Antonines; and in the reign of Severus, the whole provinces of the empire were stained with the blood of the martyrs. [It was impossible for Christianity to enter into competition with the tenets and rites of Paganism, without offending many prejudices, interfering with many interests, exciting many alarms, and giving a handle to all persons in power or otherwise, who wished to be free

from moral restraint, to proscribe it, as a religion incompatible with the course and stability of worldly affairs.]

5. The third century was more favourable to the progress of Christianity, and the tranquillity of its disciples. In those times it suffered less from the civil arm than from the pens of the Pagan philosophers, Porphyry, Philostratus, &c.; but these attacks called forth the zeal and talents of many able defenders, as Origen, Dionysius, and Cyprian. A part of the Gauls, Germany, and Britain, received in this century the light of the Gospel.

6. In the fourth century, the Christian church was alternately persecuted and cherished by the Roman Emperors. Among its oppressors we rank Diocletian, Galerius, and Julian. Among its favourers, Constantine and his sons, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, and the excellent Theodosius, in whose reign the Pagan superstition came to its final period.

7. From the age of Numa to the reign of Gratian, the Romans preserved the regular succession of the several sacerdotal colleges, the Pontiffs, Augurs, Vestals, *Flamines*, *Salii*, &c., whose authority, though weakened in the latter ages, was still protected by the laws. Even the

Christian Emperors held, like their Pagan predecessors, the office of *Pontifex Maximus*. Gratian was the first who refused that ancient dignity as a profanation. In the time of Theodosius, the cause of Christianity and of Paganism was solemnly debated in the Roman senate between Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, the champion of the former, and Symmachus, [a celebrated Roman orator,] the defender of the latter. The cause of Christianity was triumphant; and the senate issued its decree for the abolition of Paganism, whose downfal in the capital was soon followed by its extinction in the provinces. Theodosius, with able policy, permitted no persecution of the ancient religion, which perished with the more rapidity that its fall was gentle and unresisted. [Symmachus not only failed in his conference and debate with Ambrose; but met with another opponent in Prudentius, the favourite of Honorius, the Emperor's son.]

8. But the Christian church exhibited a superstition in some respects little less irrational than polytheism, in the worship of saints and relics; and many novel tenets, unfounded in the precepts of our Saviour and his Apostles, were manifestly borrowed from the Pagan schools. The doctrines of the Platonic philosophy seem

to have led to the notions of an intermediate state of purification, celibacy of the priests, ascetic mortifications, penances, and monastic seclusion.

XLVI.

EXTINCTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

1. In the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, the sons and successors of Theodosius, the barbarian nations established themselves in the frontier provinces both of the East and West. Theodosius had committed the government to Rufinus and Stilicho, during the nonage of his sons; [the former as guardian of Arcadius in the East, the latter of Honorius in the West;] their fatal dissensions gave every advantage to the enemies of the empire. The Huns, actually invited by Rufinus, [who sought to ascend the Byzantine throne himself,] overspread Armenia, Cappadocia, and Syria. The Goths, under Alaric, ravaged to the borders of Italy, and laid waste Achaia to the Peloponnesus. Stilicho, an able general, [a Vandal by birth,] made a noble stand against these invaders; but his plans were

frustrated by the machinations of his rivals, and the weakness of Arcadius, who purchased an ignominious peace, by ceding to Alaric the whole of Greece.

2. Alaric, now styled King of the Visigoths, prepared to add Italy to his new dominions. He passed the Alps, and was carrying all before him, when, amused by the politic Stilicho with the prospect of a new cession of territory, he was taken at unawares, and defeated by that General, then commanding the armies of Honorius. The Emperor triumphantly celebrated, on that occasion, the *eternal* defeat of the Gothic nation; an eternity bounded by the lapse of a few months. In this interval, a torrent of the Goths, breaking down upon Germany, forced the nations whom they dispossessed, the Suevi, Alani, and Vandals, to precipitate themselves upon Italy. They joined their arms to those of Alaric, who, thus reinforced, determined to overwhelm Rome. The policy of Stilicho made him change his purpose, on the promise of 4000 pounds weight of gold; a promise repeatedly broken by Honorius, and its violation finally revenged by Alaric, by the sack and plunder of the city, A. D. 410. With generous magnanimity, he was sparing of the lives of the van-

quished, and, with singular liberality of spirit, anxious to preserve every ancient edifice from destruction. [The enemies of Stilicho accused him of conniving at the attacks of Alaric, if not even of having invited him into Italy, and by so representing matters to Honorius, caused him to be arrested and decapitated. It seems still doubtful whether there were not grounds for the imputation; but an able minister, ill supported by a weak master, might easily act so, with the best intentions, as to lay himself open to misrepresentations. Zosimus denies the truth of the charges brought against him, and Claudian has immortalised his memory.]

3. Alaric, preparing now for the conquest of Sicily and Africa, died at this era of his highest glory; and Honorius, instead of profiting by this event to recover his lost provinces, made a treaty with his successor Ataulfus, gave him in marriage his sister Placidia, and secured his friendship by ceding to him a portion of Spain, while a great part of what remained had before been occupied by the Vandals. He allowed soon after to the Burgundians a just title to their conquests in Gaul. Thus the Western empire was by degrees mouldering from under the dominion of its ancient masters.

4. In the East, the mean and dissolute Arcadius died in the year 408, leaving that empire to his infant son Theodosius II., whose sister Pulcheria swayed the sceptre with much prudence and ability; and the weakness of her brother allowed her government to be of forty years' continuance. Honorius died in the year 423. The laws of Arcadius and Honorius are, with a few exceptions, remarkable for their wisdom and equity; a singular phenomenon, considering the personal character of those princes, and evincing at least that they employed some able ministers.

5. The Vandals, under Genseric, subdued the Roman province in Africa, [having been invited thither from Spain by Bonifacius, who had been treacherously deceived, and misrepresented to the regent empress Placidia, and obliged to defend himself from the effects of her resentment]. The Huns, in the East, extended their conquests from the borders of China to the Baltic Sea. Under Attila they laid waste Mœsia and Thrace; and Theodosius II., after a mean attempt to murder the Barbarian General, ingloriously submitted to pay him an annual tribute. It was in this crisis of universal decay, that the Britons implored the Romans to defend them

against the Picts and Scots, but received for answer, that they had nothing to bestow on them but compassion. The Britons, in despair, sought aid from the Saxons and Angles, who seized, as their property, the country they were invited to protect, and founded, in the 5th and 6th centuries, the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy. (See Part II. Sect. XII. § 5.)

6. Attila, with an army of 500,000 men, threatened the total destruction of the empire. He was ably opposed by Ætius, General of Valentinian III., now Emperor of the West, who was himself shut up in Rome by the arms of the Barbarian, and at length compelled to purchase a peace. On the death of Attila, his dominions were dismembered by his sons, whose dissensions gave temporary relief to the falling empire.

7. After Valentinian III. we have in the West a succession of princes, or rather names; for the events of their reigns merit no detail. In the reign of Romulus, surnamed Augustulus, the son of Orestes, the empire of the West came to a final period. Odoacer, Prince of the Heruli, subdued Italy, and spared the life of Augustulus, on the condition of his resigning the throne, A. D. 476. From the building of Rome to this

era, the extinction of the Western Empire, is a period of 1228 years.

8. We may reduce to one ultimate cause the various circumstances that produced the decline and fall of this once magnificent fabric. The ruin of the Roman empire was the inevitable consequence of its greatness. The extension of its dominion relaxed the vigour of its frame; the vices of the conquered nations infected the victorious legions, and foreign luxuries corrupted their commanders; selfish interest supplanted the patriotic affection; the martial spirit was purposely debased by the Emperors, who dreaded its effects on their own power; and the whole mass, thus weakened and enervated, fell an easy prey to the torrent of Barbarians which overwhelmed it.

9. The Herulian dominion in Italy was of short duration. Theodoric, Prince of the Ostrogoths, (afterwards deservedly surnamed *the Great*,) obtained permission of Zeno, Emperor of the East, [who was anxious to remove the Ostrogoths from his own dominions,] to attempt the recovery of Italy, and a promise of its sovereignty as the reward of his success. The whole nation of the Ostrogoths attended the standard of their prince; and Theodoric, victo-

rious in repeated engagements, at length compelled Odoacer to surrender all Italy to the conqueror. The Romans had tasted of happiness under the government of Odoacer, and it was increased under the dominion of Theodoric, who possessed every talent and virtue of a sovereign. His equity and clemency rendered him a blessing to his subjects: he allied himself with all the surrounding nations, the Franks, [having married the sister of their King, Clovis,] Visigoths, Burgundians, and Vandals; and he left a peaceable sceptre to his grandson Athalaric, during whose infancy his mother Amalasonte governed with such admirable wisdom and moderation, as left her subjects no real cause of regret for the loss of her father.

10. While such was the state of Gothic Italy, the empire of the East was under the government of Justinian, a prince of mean ability, vain, capricious, and tyrannical. Yet the Roman name rose for a while from its abasement by the merit of his Generals. Belisarius was the support of his throne, yet to him he behaved with the most shocking ingratitude. The Persians were at this time the most formidable enemies of the empire, under their sovereigns Cabades and Cosrhoes; and from the latter, a most able

prince, Justinian meanly purchased a peace, by a cession of territory, and an enormous tribute in gold. The civil factions of Constantinople, arising from the most contemptible of causes, the disputes of the performers in the circus and amphitheatre, threatened to hurl Justinian from the throne, had they not been fortunately composed by the arms and the policy of Belisarius. This great General overwhelmed the Vandal sovereignty of Africa, and recovered that province to the empire. He wrested Italy from its Gothic sovereign, and once more restored it, for a short space, to the dominion of its ancient masters.

11. Italy was once more subdued by the Goths, under the heroic Totila, who besieged and took the city of Rome, but forbore to destroy it at the request of Belisarius. The fortunes of this great man were now in the wane. He was compelled to evacuate Italy; and, on his return to Constantinople, his long services were repaid with disgrace. He was superseded in the command of the armies by the eunuch Narses, who defeated Totila in a decisive engagement, in which the Gothic prince was slain. Narses governed Italy with great ability for thirteen years, when he was ungratefully recalled

by Justin II., the successor of Justinian. He invited the Lombards [under Alboin, who had fought with him against Totila,] to avenge his injuries; and this new tribe of invaders over-ran and conquered the country, A. D. 568.

XLVII.

OF THE ORIGIN, MANNERS, AND CHARACTER, OF THE GOTHIC NATIONS, BEFORE THEIR ESTABLISHMENT IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

1. THE history and manners of the Gothic nations are curious objects of enquiry, from their influence on the constitutions and national character of most of the modern kingdoms of Europe. As the present inhabitants of these kingdoms are a mixed race, compounded of the Goths and of the nations whom they subdued, the laws, manners, and institutions of the modern kingdoms are the result of this conjunction; and in so far as these are different from the usages prevalent before this intermixture, they are, in all probability, to be traced from the ancient manners and institutions of those northern tribes. We purpose to consider, 1. The original character of the Gothic nations; and, 2. The change

of their manners on their establishment in the Roman empire.

2. The Scandinavian chronicles attribute to the ancient inhabitants of that country an Asiatic origin, and inform us that the Goths were a colony of Scythians, who migrated thither from the banks of the Black Sea and the Caspian; but these chronicles do not fix the period of this migration, which some later writers suppose to have been 1000 years, and others only 70, before the Christian era. Odin, the chief deity of the Scandinavians, was the god of the Scythians. Sigga, a Scythian prince, is said to have undertaken a distant expedition; and, after subduing several of the Sarmatian tribes, to have penetrated into the northern parts of Germany, and thence into Scandinavia. He assumed the honours of divinity, and the title of Odin his national god. He conquered Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and gave wise and salutary laws to the nations he had subdued by his arms.

3. The agreement in manners between the Scythians and the ancient Scandinavian nations is strongly corroborative of the accounts given in the northern chronicles of the identity of their origin. The description of the manners of the Germans by Tacitus (though this people was

probably not of Scythian but of Celtic origin) may, in many particulars, be applied to the ancient nations of Scandinavia; and the same description coincides remarkably with the account given by Herodotus of the manners of the Scythians. Their life was spent in hunting, pasturage, and predatory war. Their dress, their weapons, their food, their respect for their women, their religious worship, were the same. They despised learning, and had no other records for many ages than the songs of their bards.

4. The theology of the Scandinavians was most intimately connected with their manners. They held three great principles or fundamental doctrines of religion: "To serve the "Supreme Being with prayer and sacrifice; to "do no wrong or unjust action; and to be in- "trepid in fight." These principles are the key to the *Edda*, or sacred book, of the Scandinavians, which, though it contains the substance of a very ancient religion, is not itself a work of high antiquity, being compiled in the thirteenth century by Snorro Sturleson, supreme judge of Iceland. Odin, characterised as the Terrible and Severe God, the Father of Carnage, the Avenger, is the principal deity of the Scan-

dinavians: from whose union with Frea, the heavenly mother, sprung various subordinate divinities; as Thor, who perpetually wars against Loke and his evil giants, who envy the power of Odin, and seek to destroy his works. Among the inferior deities are the virgins of the Valhalla, whose office is to minister to the heroes in paradise. The favourites of Odin are all who die in battle, or, what is equally meritorious, by their own hand. The timid wretch, who allows himself to perish by disease or age, is unworthy of the joys of paradise. These joys are, fighting, ceaseless slaughter, and drinking beer out of the skulls of their enemies, with a renovation of life, to furnish a perpetuity of the same pleasures.

5. As the Scandinavians believed this world to be the work of some superior intelligences, so they held all nature to be constantly under the regulation of an Almighty will and power, and subject to a fixed and unalterable destiny. These notions had a wonderful effect on the national manners, and on the conduct of individuals. The Scandinavian placed his sole delight in war: he entertained an absolute contempt of danger and of death, and his glory was estimated by the number he had slain in battle.

The death-song of *Regner Lodbrok*, who comforts himself in his last agonies by recounting all the acts of carnage he had committed in his lifetime, is a faithful picture of the Scandinavian character.

6. We have remarked the great similarity of the manners of the Scandinavians and those of the ancient Germans. These nations seem, however, to have had a different origin. The Germans, as well as the Gauls, were branches of that great original nation termed *Celtæ*, who inhabited most of the countries of Europe to the south of the Baltic, before they were invaded by the northern tribes from Scandinavia. The Celtæ were all of the Druidical religion; a system which, though different from the belief and worship of the Scandinavians, is founded nearly on the same principles; and the Goths, in their progress, intermixing with the Germans, could not fail to adopt, in part, the notions of a kindred religion. Druidism acknowledged a God that delighted in bloodshed; it taught the immortality of the soul, and inculcated the contempt of danger and of death: *Ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.* Tacitus remarks of the ancient Germans, that they had neither temples nor idols. The open air was the temple of the divi-

nity, and a consecrated grove the appropriated place for prayer and sacrifice, which none but the priests were allowed to enter. The chief sacrifices were human victims, most probably the prisoners taken in war. The Druids heightened the sanctity of their character by concealing the mysteries of their worship. They had the highest influence over the minds of the people, and thus found it easy to conjoin a civil authority with the sacerdotal; a policy which in the end led to the destruction of the Druidical system; for the Romans found no other way of securing their conquests over any of the Celtic nations than by exterminating the Druids.

7. Whatever difference of manners there may have been among the various nations or tribes of Gothic origin, the great features of their character appear to have been the same. Nature, education, and prevailing habits, all concurred to form them for an intrepid and conquering people. Their bodily frame, invigorated by the climate they inhabited, ever inured to danger and fatigue, war their habitual occupation, believing in an unalterable destiny, and taught by their religion, that a heroic sacrifice of life gave certain assurance of eternal happiness; how

could a race of men so characterised fail to be the conquerors of the world?

XLVIII.

OF THE MANNERS, LAWS, AND GOVERNMENT, OF THE GOTHIC NATIONS, AFTER THEIR ESTABLISHMENT IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

1. It has been erroneously imagined, that the same ferocity of manners which distinguished the Goths in their original seats attended their successors in their new establishments in the provinces of the Roman empire. Modern authors have given a currency to this false idea. Voltaire, in describing the middle ages, paints the Goths in all the characters of horror; as "a troop of hungry wolves, foxes, and tigers, "driving before them the scattered timid herds, "and involving all in ruin and desolation." The accounts of historians most worthy of credit will dissipate this injurious prejudice, and show these northern nations in a more favourable point of view, as not unworthy to be the successors of the Romans.

2. Before the settlement in the southern provinces of Europe, the Goths were no longer

idolaters, but Christians; and their morality was suitable to the religion they professed. Salvianus, Bishop of Marseilles, in the fifth century, draws a parallel between their manners and those of the Romans, highly to the credit of the former. Grotius, in his publication of Procopius and Jornandes, remarks, as a strong testimony to their honourable character as a nation, that no province once subdued by the Goths ever voluntarily withdrew itself from their government.

3. It is not possible to produce a more beautiful picture of an excellent administration than that of the Gothic monarchy in Italy under Theodoric the Great. Although master of the country by conquest, he was regarded by his subjects with the affection of a native sovereign. He retained the Roman laws, and as nearly as possible the ancient political regulations. In supplying all civil offices of state, he preferred the native Romans. It was his care to preserve every monument of the ancient grandeur of the empire, and to embellish the cities by new works of beauty and utility. In the imposition and levying of taxes, he showed the most humane indulgence on every occasion of scarcity or calamity. His laws were dictated by the most

enlightened prudence and benevolence, and framed on that principle which he nobly inculcated in his instructions to the Roman senate, *Benigni principis est, non tam delicta velle punire, quam tollere.* The historians of the times delight in recounting the examples of his munificence and humanity. Partial as he was to the Arian heresy, many even of the Catholic Fathers have done the most ample justice to his merits, acknowledging that, under his reign, the church enjoyed a high measure of prosperity. [By fixing, however, upon Ravenna as the seat of government, he gave the greater scope to the Popes for establishing their authority in Rome.] Such was Theodoric the Great, who is justly termed, by Sidonis Apollinaris, *Romanæ decus columenque gentis.*

4. But a single example could not warrant a general inference with regard to the merits of a whole people. The example of Theodoric is not single. If it does not find a complete parallel, it is at least nearly approached to in the similar characters of Alaric, Amalasonte, and Totila. Alaric, compelled by his enemy's breach of faith to revenge himself by the sack of Rome, showed, even in that revenge, a noble example of humanity. No blood was shed without ne-

cessity; the churches were inviolable asylums; the honour of the women was preserved; the treasures of the city were saved from plunder. Amalasonte, the daughter of Theodoric, repaired to her subjects the loss of her father, by the equity and wisdom of her administration. She trained her son to the study of literature and of every polite accomplishment, as the best means of reforming and enlightening his people. Totila, twice master of Rome, which he won by his arms after an obstinate resistance, imitated the example of Alaric in his clemency to the vanquished, and in his care to preserve every remnant of ancient magnificence from destruction. He restored the senate to its authority; he adorned Rome with useful edifices, regulated its internal policy, and took a noble pride in reviving the splendour and dignity of the empire. *Habitavit cum Romanis*, says a contemporary author, *tanquam pater cum filiis*.

5. The stem of the Gothic nation divided itself into two great branches: the Ostrogoths, who remained in Pannonia; and the Westrogoths or Visigoths, so termed from their migrating thence to the west of Europe. Italy was possessed by the latter under Alaric, and by the former under Theodoric. The Visigoths, after

the death of Alaric, withdrew into Gaul, and obtained from Honorius the province of Aquitaine, of which Thoulouse was the capital. When expelled from that province by the Franks, they crossed the Pyrenees, and, settling in Spain, made Toledo the capital of their kingdom. The race of the Visigoth princes was termed the *Balti*, as that of the Ostrogoths the *Amali*. The Ostrogoths enforced in their dominions the observance of the Roman laws; the Visigoths adhered to a code compiled by their own sovereigns, and founded on the ancient manners and usages of their nations. From this code, therefore, we may derive much information relative to the genius and character of this ancient people.

6. It is enacted by the *Laws of the Visigoths* that no judge shall decide in any lawsuit, unless he finds in that book a law applicable to the case. All causes that fall not under this description are reserved for the decision of the sovereign. The penal laws are severe, but tempered with great equity. No punishment can affect the heirs of the criminal; *Omnia crimina suos sequantur auctores — ille solus judiceter culpabilis qui culpanda commiserit, et crimen cum illo qui fecerit moriatur.* Death was the punishment of the

murder of a freeman, and perpetual infamy of the murder of a slave. — Pecuniary fines were enacted for various subordinate offences, according to their measure of criminality. — An adulterer was delivered in bondage to the injured husband; and the free woman who had committed adultery with a married man became the slave of his wife. — No physician was allowed to visit a female patient, but in the presence of her nearest kindred. — The *Lex talionis* was in great observance for such injuries as admitted of it. It was even carried so far, that the incendiary of a house was burnt alive. — The triäls by judicial combat, by ordeal, and by the judgment of God, which were in frequent use among the Franks and Normans, had no place among the Visigoths. — Montesquieu has erroneously asserted, that in all the Gothic nations it was usual to judge the litigants by the law of their own country; the Roman by the Roman law, the Frank by that of the Franks, the Aleman by that of the Alemans. On the contrary, the Visigoth code prohibits the laws of all other nations within the territories of that people; *Nolumus sive Romanis legibus, sive alienis institutionibus, amplius convexari.* The laws of the Franks and

Lombards are remarkable for their wisdom and judicious policy.

7. The government of the Goths, after their settlement in the Roman provinces, was monarchical; and, at first elective, became afterwards hereditary; the sovereign on his death-bed appointing his successors, with the advice or consent of his grandees. Illegitimacy did not disqualify from succession or nomination to the throne.

8. The Dukes and Counts were the chief officers under the Gothic government. The Duke (*Dux exercitus*) was the commander-in-chief of the troops of the province; the Count (*Comes*) was the highest civil magistrate: but these officers frequently intermixed their functions; the Count being empowered, on sudden emergencies, to assume a military command, and the Duke, on some occasions, warranted to exercise judicial authority. In general, however, their departments were distinct. Of *Comites* there were various orders, with distinct official powers; as, *Comes cubiculi*, Chamberlain; *Comes stabuli*, Constable, &c. These various officers were the *proceres* or grandees of the kingdom, by whose advice the sovereign conducted himself in important matters of government, or in

the nomination of his successor: but we do not find that they had a voice in the framing of laws, or in the imposition of taxes; and the prince himself had the sole nomination to all offices of government, magistracies, and dignities. [When the Gothic tribes settled themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire, and became Christians, a new order, namely, the Bishops, were admitted to the council of the sovereign, as will be seen hereafter.]

XLIX.

METHOD OF STUDYING ANCIENT HISTORY.

1. A GENERAL and concise view of ancient history may be acquired by the perusal of a very few books: as that part of the *Cours d'Etude* of the Abbé Condillac which regards the history of the nations of antiquity; the Elements of General History, by the Abbé Millot, part 1.; the Epitome of Turselline, with the notes of L'Agneau, part 1.; or the excellent *Compendium Historiæ Universalis*, by Professor Offerhaus of Groningen. The two first of these works have the merit of uniting a spirit of reflection with

a judicious selection of events. The notes of L'Agneau to the Epitome of Turselline contain a great store of geographical and biographical information; and the work of Offerhaus is peculiarly valuable, as uniting sacred with profane history, and containing most ample references to the ancient authors. The *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, by the Bishop of Meaux, though a work of high merit, is rather useful to those who have already studied history in detail, for uniting in the mind the great current of events, and recalling to the memory their order and connection, than fitted to convey information to the uninstructed.

But the student who wishes to derive the most complete advantage from history, must not confine himself to such general or compendious views; he must resort to the original historians of ancient times, and the modern writers who have treated with amplitude of particular periods. It may be useful to such students to point out the order in which those historians may be most profitably perused.

2. Next to the historical books of the Old Testament, the most ancient history worthy of perusal is that of Herodotus, which comprehends the annals of Lydia, Ionia, Lycia, Egypt, Persia,

Greece, and Macedonia, from about 700 years to 479 B. C.

Book 1. contains the History of Lydia from Gyges to Crœsus; Ancient Ionia; Manners of the Persians, Babylonians, &c.; History of Cyrus the Elder.

B. 2. History of Egypt, and Manners of the Egyptians.

B. 3. History of Cambyses. — Persian Monarchy under Darius Hystaspes.

B. 4. History of Scythia.

B. 5. Persian Embassy to Macedon; Athens, Lacedæmon, Corinth, at the same period.

B. 6. Kings of Lacedæmon. — War of Persia against Greece, to the Battle of Marathon.

B. 7. The same War, to the Battle of Thermopylæ.

B. 8. The naval Battle of Salamis.

B. 9. The Defeat and Expulsion of the Persians from Greece.

(The merits of Herodotus are shortly characterised *supra*, Sect. XXII. § 1.)

3. A more particular account of the periods treated by Herodotus may be found in Justin, lib. 1, 2, 3. and 7.; the Cyropædia of Xenophon; the Lives of Aristides, Themistocles, Cimon, Miltiades, and Pausanias, written by Plutarch

and Cornelius Nepos; and those of Anaximander, Zeno, Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Democritus, by Diogenes Laertius.

4. The Grecian History is taken up by Thucydides from the period where Herodotus ends, and is continued for seventy years, to the twenty-first of the Peloponnesian war. (This work characterised, Sect. XXII. § 2.) The period he treats of is more amply illustrated by perusing the 11th and 12th books of Diodorus Siculus; the Lives of Alcibiades, Chabrias, Thrasybulus, and Lysias, by Plutarch and Nepos; the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th books of Justin; and 14th and 15th chapters of the first book of Orosius.

5. Next to Thucydides, the student ought to peruse the 1st and 2d books of Xenophon's History of Greece, which comprehend the narrative of the Peloponnesian war, with the contemporary history of the Medes and Persians; then the expedition of Cyrus (*Anabasis*), and the continuation of the history to its conclusion with the battle of Mantinea. (Xenophon characterised, Sect. XXII. § 3.) For illustrating this period, we have the Lives of Lysander, Agesilaus, Artaxerxes, Conon, and Datames, by Plutarch and Nepos; the 4th, 5th, and 6th books of

Justin; and the 13th and 14th of Diodorus Siculus.

6. After Xenophon, let the student read the 15th and 16th books of Diodorus, which contain the history of Greece and Persia, from the battle of Mantinea, to the reign of Alexander the Great. (Diodorus characterised, Sect. XXII. § 5.) To complete this period, let him read the Lives of Dion, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Phocion, and Timoleon, by Nepos.

7. For the history of Alexander the Great, we have the admirable works of Arrian and Quintus Curtius. (The former characterised, Sect. XXII. § 8.) Curtius possesses great judgment in the selection of facts, with much elegance and perspicuity of diction. He is a good moralist and a good patriot; but his passion for embellishment derogates from the purity of history, and renders his authority suspicious.

8. For the continuation of the history of Greece from the death of Alexander, we have the 18th, 19th, and 20th books of Diodorus; and the history of Justin from the 13th book downwards; together with the Lives of the principal personages, written by Plutarch. The history of Justin is a most judicious abridgment

of a much larger work by Trogus Pompeius, which is lost. Justin excels in the delineation of characters, and in purity of style.

9. I have mentioned the Lives of Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos as the best supplement to the account of particular periods of ancient history. It is the highest praise of Plutarch, that his writings breathe the most admirable morality, and furnish the most instructive lessons of active virtue. He makes us familiarly acquainted with the great men of antiquity, and chiefly delights in painting their private character and manners. The short Lives written by Nepos show great judgment, and a most happy selection of such facts as display the genius and character of his heroes. They are written likewise with great purity and elegance.

10. For the Roman history in its early periods, we have, first, the Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which bring down the history of Rome to 412 A.U.C. They are chiefly valuable, as illustrating the manners and customs, the rites, civil and religious, and the laws of the Roman state. But the writer is too apt to frame hypotheses, and to give views instead of narratives. We look for these in the modern writers who treat of ancient times,

but we cannot tolerate them in the sources of history.

11. The work of Livy is infinitely more valuable; a perfect model of history, both as to matter and composition. (Characterised, Sect. XXXVI. § 10.) Of 132 books, we have only remaining 35, and these interrupted by a considerable chasm. The first decade (or ten books) treats of a period of 460 years; the second decade, containing seventy-five years, is lost; the third contains the second Punic war, including eighteen years; the fourth contains the war against Philip of Macedon, and the Asiatic war against Antiochus, a space of twenty-three years; of the fifth decade there are only five books; and the remainder, which reaches to the death of Drusus, 746 A. U. C., has, together with the second decade, been supplied by Freinshemius. To supply the chasm of the second decade, the student ought to read, together with the epitome of those lost books, the 1st and 2d books of Polybius; the 17th, 18th, 22d, and 23d books of Justin; the Lives of Marcellus and Fabius Maximus, by Plutarch; and the Punic and Illyrian Wars, by Appian.

12. But the history of Polybius demands a separate and attentive perusal, as an admirable

compendium of political and military instruction. Of forty books of general history we have only five entire, and excerpts of the following twelve. The matter of which he treats is the history of the Romans, and the nations with whom they were at war, from the beginning of the second Punic war to the beginning of the war with Macedonia, comprising in all a period of about fifty years. Of the high estimation in which Polybius stood with the authors of antiquity, we have sufficient proof in the encomiums bestowed on him by Cicero, Strabo, Josephus, and Plutarch; and in the use which Livy has made of his history, in adopting his narratives in many parts of his work, by an almost literal translation.

13. The work of Appian, which originally consisted of twenty books, from the earliest period of the Roman history down to the age of Adrian, is greatly mutilated; there remaining only his account of the Syrian, Parthian, Mithridatic, Spanish, Punic, and Illyrian wars. His narrative of each of these wars is remarkably distinct and judicious, and his composition, on the whole, is chaste and perspicuous. After the history of Appian, the student should resume Livy, from the beginning of the third decade, or 21st book, to the end. Then he may peruse

with advantage the Lives of Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, Flaminius, Paulus Æmilius, the elder Cato, the Gracchi, Marius, Sylla, the younger Cato, Sertorius, Lucullus, Julius Cæsar, Cicero, Pompey, and Brutus, by Plutarch.

14. The histories of the Jugurthine war, and the conspiracy of Catiline by Sallust, come next in order. (Sallust characterised, Sect. XXXVI. § 8.) Then follow the Commentaries of Cæsar, (Sect. XXXVI. § 9.) remarkable for perspicuity of narration, and a happy union of brevity with elegant simplicity of style. The epitomes of Florus and of Velleius Paterculus (the latter a model for abridgment of history) may be perused with advantage at this period of the course. [Cicero, as a living witness of some of the most extraordinary events that took place in the last struggles of the republic, and as an actor in many of them, of singular abilities, knowledge, and discernment, supplies us, particularly in the second book of his Offices, and familiar Letters, with information of the very highest importance, political, historical, and philosophical.]

15. For the history of Rome under the first Emperors we have Suetonius and Tacitus; [both authors of what has been called the Silver Age of

Latinity;] and for the subsequent reigns, the series of the minor historians, termed *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*, and the Byzantine writers. Suetonius rather gives us a series of detached characters, illustrated by an artful selection of facts and anecdotes, than a regular history. His work is chiefly valuable as descriptive of Roman manners, though his genius has too much of the caustic humour of a satirist. Tacitus, with greater powers and deeper penetration, (see Sect. XXXVI. § 11.) has drawn his picture of the times in stern and gloomy colours. From neither of these historians will the ingenuous mind of youth receive moral improvement, or pleasing or benevolent impressions; yet we cannot deny their high utility to the student of politics.

16. If we except Herodian, who wrote with taste and judgment, it is doubtful whether any of the subsequent writers of the Roman history deserve a minute perusal. It were preferable that the student should derive his knowledge of the history of the decline and fall of the empire from modern authors, resorting to the original writers only for occasional information on detached points of importance. For this purpose, the General History by Dr. Howel is a work of

very high utility, as being written entirely on the basis of the original historians, whose narrative he in general translates, referring constantly to his authorities in the margin. The student will find in this work a most valuable mass of historical information.

17. The reader, having thus founded his knowledge of general history on the original writers, will now peruse with great advantage the modern histories of ancient Greece and Rome, by the able pens of Mitford, Gillies, Gast, Hooke, Gibbon, and Fergusson, and will find himself qualified to form a just estimate of their merits, on which (though too frequently the practice) it is presumptuous to decide without such preparatory knowledge.

18. The greatest magazine of historical information which has ever been collected into one body, is the English Universal History; a most useful work, from the amplitude of its matter, its general accuracy, and constant reference to the original authors. We may occasionally consult it with great advantage on points where deep research is necessary; but we cannot read it with pleasure as a continued work, from its tedious details and harshness of style, as well

as from its abrupt transitions, and the injudicious arrangement of many of its parts.

19. Geography and chronology have been justly termed the *lights* of history. We cannot peruse with advantage the historical annals of any country, without a competent notion of its geographical site, and even of its particular topography. In reading the description of all events, the mind necessarily pictures out the scenes of action; and these it is surely better to draw with truth from nature and reality, than falsely from imagination. Many actions and events are likewise intimately connected with the geography and local circumstances of a country, and are unintelligible without a knowledge of them.

20. The use of chronological tables is very great, both for the purpose of uniting in one view the contemporary events in different nations, which often have an influence on each other, and for recalling to the memory the order and series of events, and renewing the impressions of the objects of former study. It is extremely useful, after perusing the history of a nation in detail, or that of a certain age or period, to run over briefly the principal occurrences in a table of chronology. The most

perfect works of this kind are the chronological tables of Dr. Playfair, which unite history and biography; the tables of Dr. Blair; or the older tables by Tallent.

END OF PART FIRST.

COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF

ANCIENT AND OF MODERN

GEOGRAPHY.

In the following Tables, the Countries unknown to the Ancients, or of which the Names are uncertain, are left blank.

MODERN EUROPE.

GREENLAND, or the Aretic Continent
SPITSBERGEN Island
ICELAND Island, belonging to Norway

- NORWAY.
  1. Wardhuis, or Norwegian Lapland
  2. Drontheim
  3. Bergen
  4. Aggerhuis, or Christiana
- SWEDEN.
  1. Lapland and West Bothnia
  2. Sweden Proper
  3. Gothland
  4. Finland
  5. Islands of Gothland, Oeland, Aland, Rugen
- DENMARK.
  - Jutland
    1. Alburg
    2. Wyburg
    3. Aarhusen
    4. Rypen
    5. Sleswick
  - Danish Islands in the Baltic
    1. Zealand
    2. Funen
    3. Falster
    4. Longeland
    5. Laland
    6. Femeren
    7. Alsen
    8. Moen
    9. Bornholm

ANCIENT EUROPE.

- SCANDINAVIA, SCANDIA, vel BALTIA.
  - 2. Nerigon
  - 3. Sitones
  - 1. Scritofinni
  - 2. Suiones
  - 3. Gutæ et Hilleviones
  - 4. Finningia
  - 5. Insulæ Sinus Codani
- Chersonesus Cimbrica
  - 1. Cimbri
  - 3. Harudes
  - 4. Phundusii, Sigulones
  - 5. Saablingii
- Insulæ Sinus Codani
  - 1. } Teutones
  - 2. }

RUSSIA in EUROPE.

1. Livonia and Estonia
2. Ingria, or the Government of Petersburg
3. Carelia, or the Government of Wiburg
4. Novogrod
5. Archangel, Samoideia
6. Moscow
7. Nishnei Novogrod
8. Smolenski
9. Kiew
10. Bielgorod
11. Woronesk
12. Azoff

FRANCE.

1. Picardy
2. Isle of France
3. Champagne
4. Normandy
5. Bretany
6. Orleannois
7. Lionnois
8. Provence
9. Languedoc
10. Guienne
11. Gascoigne
12. Dauphiné
13. Burgundy and Franche Compté
14. Lorraine and Alsace *

* [These provinces were reduced into departments during the Revolution, in order to do away, and obliterate, all remains of the feudal system. — The number of the departments amounts to 83.]

SARMATIA EUROPÆA.

1. Hirri et Æstii vel Ostiones
4. Budini
6. Basilici
8. Cariones
10. & 4. Budini
11. Roxolani
12. Iazyges

GALLIA.

1. Ambiani
2. Bellovaci, Parisii, Suessones
3. Remi, Catalauni, Tricasses, 13. Lingones
4. Unelli vel Veneti, Saii, Lexovii, Veliocasses
5. Osismii, Veneti, Namnetes, Andes, Redones
6. Aureliani, Carnutes, Senones, Turones, Pictones, Bituriges

} Celtæ

7. Ædui, Segusiani
8. Salyes, Cavares
9. Volcæ, Arecomici Helvii, Tolosates
10. Petrocorii, Bituriges, Cadurci, Ruteni
11. Aquitani
12. Allobroges, Centrones
13. Lingones, Æqui, Sequani
14. Leuci, Mediomatrici, Triboci Nemetes

United Netherlands.

1. Holland
2. Friesland
3. Zealand
4. Groningen
5. Overyssell
6. Guelderland and Zutphen
7. Utrecht

Austrian, French, and Dutch Netherlands.*

1. Brabant, *Dutch* / *Austrian*
2. Antwerp, *Austrian*
3. Mechlen or Malines, *Austrian*
4. Limburgh, *Dutch* / *Austrian*
5. Luxemburgh *French* / *Austrian*
6. Namur, *Austrian*
7. Hainault, *Austrian* / *French*
8. Cambresis, *French*
9. Artois, *French*
10. Flanders, *Dutch* / *Austrian* / *French*

* [These ten provinces were, by the sixty-fifth article of the Treaty of Vienna, 1815, united to Holland, and guaranteed to the Prince of Orange, as King of the Netherlands, by Austria, Spain, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Sweden.]

SAXONES.

1. Frisi
2. Frisi
4. Cauci vel Chauci
5. Franci
6. Bructeri, Catti, Sicambri
7. Batavi

BELGÆ, &c.

1. Menapii, Tungrii
2. Toxandri
4. Alemanni
5. Alemanni
6. Treveri
7. Remi
9. Atrebates, Veromandui
10. Belgæ, Morini.

GERMANY.	1. Upper Saxony 2. Lower Saxony 3. Westphalia 4. Upper Rhine 5. Lower Rhine 6. Franconia 7. Austria 8. Bavaria 9. Suabia
BOHEMIA.	1. Bohemia Proper 2. Silesia 3. Moravia
POLAND.	1. Greater Poland 2. Lesser Poland 3. Prussia Royal 4. Prussia Ducal 5. Samogitia 6. Courland 7. Lithuania 8. Warsovia 9. Polachia 10. Polesia 11. Red Russia 12. Podolia 13. Volhinia.

NATIONES GERMANICÆ.

1. Suevi Lingæ, &c.
2. Saxones, Longobardi, Gambrivii
3. Cherusci, Chamavi, Gauchi, Germania Inferior
4. Germania Superior
5. Marci, Tincteri

} Saxones

6. Marcomanni, Hermonduri
7. Noricum
8. Rhætia
9. Vindelicia

1. Boiohœmum
2. Corconti
2. Quadi

GERMANO-SARMATÆ.

1. Peucini
2. Lugi
3. } Burgundiones, Rugii,
4. } Guthones
5. Ombroges
6. Scyri
7. } Germano-Sarmatia
8. }

11. }
12. } Bastarnæ
13. }

SPAIN.

1. Gallicia
2. Asturia
3. Biscay

4. Navarre
5. Arragon
6. Catalonia

7. Valentia
8. Murcia
9. Granada
10. Andalusia

11. Old Castile
12. New Castile
13. Leon
14. Estremadura

SPANISH ISLANDS.

Ivica
Majorca
Minorca

PORTUGAL.

Entre Minho e Douro
Tra los Montes
Beira
Estremadura
Entre Tajo
Alentajo
Algarva

HISPANIA vel IBERIA.

1. 2. 3. Gallæcia — Cantabri. Astures, Varduli

4. 5. 6. Tarraconensis — Vascones, Valetani

7. 8. Carthaginensis — Æditani, Contestani

9. 10. Bætica — Bastiani, Bastuli, Turdetani, &c.

11. Gallæciæ pars — Accæi, Arevaci

12. Tarraconensis pars — Carpetani, Ortani

13. Gallæciæ pars — Vettones

14. Lusitaniæ pars — Bæturia

INSULÆ HISPANICÆ. Baleares

LUSITANIA. Calliaci, Lusitani, Celtici

SWITZERLAND.
1. Bern
2. Friburg
3. Basil or Bâle
4. Lucern
5. Soluturn
6. Schaffhausen
7. Zurick
8. Appenzel
9. Zug
10. Schweitz
11. Glaris
12. Uri
13. Underwald
14. Geneva } Confederates of the Swiss
15. Grisons, &c. } Confederates of the Swiss

ITALY.
1. Savoy
2. Piedmont
3. Montferrat
4. Milan
5. Genoa
6. Parma
7. Modena
8. Mantua
9. Venice
10. Trent
11. The Popedom
12. Tuscany
13. Lucca
14. San Marino
15. Kingdom of Naples

HELVETIA.
- 1. 2. 3. 4. Ambrones
- 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. Tigurini
- 14. Nantuates
- 15. Veragri, Vallis Pennina, Lepontii

ITALIA.
- 1. Lepontii, Segusini, Taurini — Gallia Cisalpina vel Togata
- 2. Orobi — Liguria — Gallia Cisalpina vel Togata
- 3. — Liguria — Gallia Cisalpina vel Togata
- 4. Insubres — Liguria — Gallia Cisalpina vel Togata
- 5. — Liguria — Gallia Cisalpina vel Togata
- 6. Anamani — Gallia Cisalpina vel Togata
- 7. Boii — Gallia Cisalpina vel Togata
- 8. Cenomani — Gallia Cisalpina vel Togata
- 9. Venetia — Gallia Cisalpina vel Togata
- 10. Tridentini — Gallia Cisalpina vel Togata
- 11. Lingones, Senones, Picenum, Umbria, Sabini, pars Latii
- 12. Tuscia vel Etruria
- 13. Pars Tusciæ
- 14. Pars Umbriæ
- 15. Samnium, pars Latii, Apulia, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium

ITALIAN ISLANDS.
1. Sicily
2. Sardinia
3. Corsica
4. Malta
5. Lipari Islands
6. Capri, Ischia, &c.

HUNGARY.
TRANSYLVANIA.

SCLAVONIA.
CROATIA.

TURKEY in EUROPE.
1. Dalmatia
2. Bosnia
3. Servia
4. Wallachia
5. Moldavia and Bessarabia
6. Bulgaria
7. Albania
8. Macedonia
9. Romania
10. Livadia
11. Morea
12. Budziac Tartary or Bessarabia
13. Little Tartary
14. Crimea

GREEK ISLANDS.
1. Corfu
2. Cephalonia
3. Zante
4. Ithace, Thiace, &c.

In the ARCHIPELAGO.
1. Candia
2. Negropont
3. Stalimene
4. Scyro, &c.

INSULÆ ITALICÆ.
1. Sicilia, Sicania, vel Trinacria
2. Sardo vel Sardinia
3. Cyrnus vel Corsica
4. Melita
5. Lipariæ Insulæ
6. Capreæ, Ischia, &c.

DACIA.

PANNONIA ILLYRICUM.
1. Dalmatia
2. Mæsia Superior
3. Dacia Ripensis
4. Getæ
5. Pars Daciæ
6. Mæsia Inferior

GRÆCIA.
7. Epirus
8. Macedonia
9. Thracia
10. Thessalia
11. Peloponnesus
12. Scythia et pars Daciæ
13. Parva Scythia
14. Taurica Chersonesus

INSULÆ MARIS IONII.
1. Corcyra
2. Cephalonia
3. Zacynthus
4. Ithaca, &c.

INSULÆ MARIS ÆGÆI.
1. Creta
2. Eubœa
3. Lemnos
4. Scyros, &c.

Great Britain.

Scotland. MODERN.	Scotia. ANCIENT.	
1. Edinburgh	1.	Damnii, Vecturiones
2. Haddington	2.	Damnii, Vecturiones
3. Berwick	3. Ottodini	Vecturiones
4. Roxburgh	4.	Selgovæ
5. Selkirk	5.	Selgovæ
6. Dumfries	6.	Selgovæ
7. Kircudbright	7.	Selgovæ
8. Peebles	8.	Novantes
9. Wigton	9.	Novantes
10. Lanerk	10.	Novantes
11. Air	11.	Novantes
12. Dumbarton	12.	Damnii, Picti
13. Bute	13.	Damnii, Picti
14. Renfrew	14.	Damnii, Picti
15. Stirling	15.	Damnii, Picti
16. Linlithgow	16.	Damnii, Picti
17. Fife	17.	Caledonii, Picti
18. Clackmannan	18.	Caledonii, Picti
19. Kinross	19.	Caledonii, Picti
20. Perth	20.	Caledonii, Picti
21. Argyle	21. Epidii, Gadeni, Cerones	
22. Kincardine	22. Vernicones	Attacoti.
23. Forfar	23. Horestæ	Attacoti.
24. Aberdeen	24.	Tæzali, Attacoti.
25. Banff	25.	Tæzali, Attacoti.
26. Elgin	26.	Tæzali, Attacoti.
27. Nairn	27.	Vacomagi
28. Inverness	28.	Vacomagi
29. Ross	29.	Cantæ, Stoti
30. Cromarty	30.	Cantæ, Stoti
31. Sutherland	31.	Cantæ, Stoti
32. Caithness	32. Mertæ	Stoti
33. Orkney	33. Orcades	
34. Shetland	34. Thule	

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGLAND.

MODERN.	ANCIENT.
1. Cornwall	1. } Damnonii
2. Devonshire	2. }
3. Dorsetshire	3. Durotriges
4. Hampshire	4. }
5. Somersetshire	5. } Belgæ
6. Wiltshire	6. }
7. Berkshire	7. Attrebatii
8. Oxfordshire	8. } Dobuni
9. Gloucestershire	9. }
10. Monmouthshire	10. } Silures
11. Herefordshire	11. }
12. Worcestershire	12. }
13. Staffordshire	13. } Cornavii
14. Shropshire	14. }
15. Essex	15. Trinobantes
16. Hertfordshire	16. Catieuchlani
17. Kent	17. Canti
18. Surrey	18. } Regni
19. Sussex	19. }
20. Norfolk	20. } Simeni, vel
21. Suffolk	21. } Iceni
22. Cambridgeshire	22. }
23. Huntingdonshire	23. } Catieuch-
24. Bedfordshire	24. } lani
25. Buckinghamshire	25. Attrebatii
26. Lincolnshire	26. }
27. Nottinghamshire	27. }
28. Derbyshire	28. } Coritani
29. Rutlandshire	29. }
30. Leicestershire	30. }
31. Warwickshire	31. Cornavii
32. Northamptonshire	32. Catieuchlani

Great Britain.

	MODERN.	ANCIENT.	
England continued.	33. Northumberland	33.	Ottadeni.
	34. Durham	34.	
	35. Yorkshire	35.	Brigantes
	36. Lancashire	36.	
	37. Westmoreland	37.	
	38. Cumberland	38.	
	39. Cheshire	39.	Cornavii
	40. Middlesex	40.	Attrebates et Catieuchlani
Wales.	1. Anglesey	1.	Mona Insula.
	2. Flintshire	2.	Ordovices
	3. Montgomery	3.	
	4. Denbighshire	4.	
	5. Carnarvonshire	5.	
	6. Merioneth	6.	
	7. Cardiganshire	7.	Demetæ
	8. Carmarthenshire	8.	
	9. Pembrokeshire	9.	
	10. Radnorshire	10.	Silures.
	11. Brecknockshire	11.	
	12. Glamorganshire	12.	

IRELAND.

MODERN.		ANCIENT.	
Leinster	1. Louth	HIBERNIA vel IRENE.	1. Voluntii
	2. Meath East		2. } Cauci
	3. Meath West		3. }
	4. Longford		4. Auteri
	5. Dublin		5. } Blani
	6. Kildare		6. }
	7. King's County		7. } Coriondi
	8. Queen'sCounty		8. }
	9. Wicklow		9. Blanii
	10. Carlow		10. } Manapii
	11. Wexford		11. }
	12. Kilkenny		12. Coriondi
Ulster	13. Donegal or Tyrconnel		13. Vennicnii
	14. Londonderry		14. } Robogdii
	15. Antrim		15. }
	16. Tyrone		16. }
	17. Fermanagh		17. Erdini
	18. Armagh		18. } Voluntii
	19. Down		19. }
	20. Monaghan		20. }
	21. Cavan		21. Cauci
Munster	22. Cork County		22. Vodiæ, Iverni
	23. Waterford		23. } Brigantes
	24. Tipperary		24. }
	25. Limerick		25. } Velabori
	26. Kerry		26. }
	27. Clare		27. } Gangani
Connaught	28. Galway		28. }
	29. Roscommon		29. Auteri
	30. Mayo		30. } Nagna
	31. Sligo		31. }
	32. Leitrim		32. }

MODERN.

BRITANNIC ISLANDS.
1. Shetland and Orkney
2. Western Isles of Scotland
3. Man
4. Anglesey
5. Wight

MODERN ASIA.

TURKEY in ASIA.
1. Natolia
2. Amasia or Siwas
3. Aladulia
4. Caramania
5. Irak
6. Diarbeck
7. Curdistan
8. Turcomania
9. Georgia
10. Syria and Palestine

ARABIA.
Arabia Petræa
Arabia Deserta
Arabia Felix

ANCIENT.

INSULÆ BRITANNICÆ.
1. Thule
2. Ebudes Insulæ
3. Monæda vel Mona
4. Mona
5. Vectis

ANCIENT ASIA.

ASIA MINOR.
1. Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia, Bithynia, Galatia, Paphlagonia
2. Pontus
3. Armenia
4. Cappadocia, Cilicia, &c.
5. Babylonia, Chaldæa
6. Mesopotamia
7. Assyria
8. 9. Armenia Major
10. Syria, Palmyrene; Phœnicia, Judæa

ARABIA.
Arabia Petræa
Arabia Deserta
Arabia Felix

PERSIA.

1. Chorassan
2. Balk, Sablustan, and Candahar
3. Sagistan
4. Makeran
5. Kerman
6. Farsistan
7. Chusestan
8. Irak Agem
9. Curdestan
10. Aderbeitzen
11. Georgia
12. Gangea
13. Dagestan
14. Mazanderam
15. Gilan Taberistan
16. Chirvan

INDIA.

- Mogol
  - Delli
  - Agra
  - Cambaia
  - Bengal
- India within the Ganges
  - Decan
  - Golconda
  - Bisnagar
  - Malabar
- Island of Ceylon.
- India beyond the Ganges
  - Pegu
  - Tonquin
  - Cochinchina
  - Siam

PERSIA.
- 1. Pars Hyrcaniæ et Sogdianæ
- 2. Bactriana
- 3. Drangiana
- 5. Gedrosia
- 6. Persis
- 7. Susiana
- 8. Parthia
- 9. Pars Assyriæ
- 10. Media
- 11., 12., 13. Iberia, Colchis, et Albania
- 15. Pars Hyrcaniæ
- 16. Pars Albaniæ

INDIA.
- India intra Gangem
  - Palibothra
  - Agora
  - Regna Pori et Taxilis
  - Dachanos
  - Prasii vel Gangaridæ
  - Male
- Taprobana Ins. vel Salice
- India extra Gangem
  - Sinarum Regio

	MODERN.	ANCIENT.
China.	Niuche	
	Corea	
	Laotong	Sinæ
	Pekin	
	Xansi	Sericæ
	Xensi	
	Xantum	Carthæa
	Nanking	
	Chekiam	
	Honan	
	Huquam	
	Kiamsi	
	Fokien	
	Canton	
	Quamsi	
	Suchuen	
	Quecheu	
	Yunum	
Chinese Islands.	Formosa	
	Ainan	
	Macao	
	Bashee Island	
Russia in Asia.	1. Astracan	1. Sarmatia Asiatica
	2. Orenburg	Scythia 2.
	3. Casan	3.
	4. Siberia — Tobolsk	intra
	Jeniseia	
	Irkutsk	Imaum.
	Kamschatka	
Independent Tartary.	1. Great Buccharia	1. Bactriana Sogdiana
	2. Karasm	2. Aria

MODERN.		ANCIENT.	
Aluth Tartars.	1. Little Bucharia 2. Casgar 3. Turkestan 4. Kalmac Tartars 5. Thibet 6. Little Thibet	Scythia extra Imaum.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.
Chinese Tartary.	Kalkas Mongol Tartars Mantchou Tartars Corea	Sinæ.	
Islands of Chinese Tartary.	Sagalien-ula-hata Jedso		
Islands of Japan.	Japan or Niphon Xicoco Ximo		
Philippine Isles.	Lucon or Manilla Mindanao, &c.		
Marian or Ladrone Islands.	Tinian		
Isles of Sunda.	Borneo Sumatra Java, &c.		
Molucca Isles.	Celebes Amboyna Ceram Timor Flores, &c.		
Maldiva Isles.			

MODERN AFRICA.

- Barbary.
  1. Morocco
  2. Algiers
  3. Tunis
  4. Tripoli
  5. Barca
- 1. Egypt.
- 2. Bildulgerid.
- 3. Zaara, or the Desert.
- 4. Negroland.
- 5. Guinea.
- 6. Upper Ethiopia.
  - Nubia
  - Abyssinia
  - Abex
- 7. Lower Ethiopia.
- 8. Lower Guinea.
  - Loango
  - Congo
  - Angola
  - Benguela
  - Matanan
- 9. Ajan.
- 10. Zanguebar.
- 11. Monomotapa.
- 12. Monœmugi.
- 13. Sofola.
- 14. Terra de Natal.
- 15. Cafraria, or Country of the Hottentots.

ANCIENT AFRICA.

1. Mauretania Tingitana
2. Mauretania Cæsariensis
3. Numidia, Africa Propria
4. Tripolitana
5. Cyrenaica, Libya Superior

1. ÆGYPTUS.
2. LIBYA INFERIOR, GÆTULIA.
3. SOLITUDINES.
4. AUTOLOLES.

6. ÆTHIOPIÆ et LIBYÆ pars.

7. ÆTHIOPIÆ pars.

NORTH AMERICA.

British.

1. The Countries on the east and west sides of Baffin's and Hudson's Bays
2. Labrador, or New Britain
3. Canada
4. Nova Scotia
5. New England
6. New York
7. New Jersey
8. Pennsylvania
9. Maryland
10. Virginia
11. North Carolina
12. South Carolina
13. Georgia
14. Florida

} United States

Islands.

1. Newfoundland
2. Cape Breton
3. Bermudas
4. Long Island
5. Bahama Islands
6. Jamaica
7. St. Christopher's
8. Nevis
9. Montserrat
10. Antigua
11. Dominica
12. St. Vincent
13. Tobago
14. Grenada
15. Barbadoes, &c. &c.

NORTH AMERICA.

SPANISH.

1. Mexico, or New Spain
2. New Mexico
3. Louisiana

ISLANDS.

1. Cuba
2. Porto Rico
3. West part of St. Domingo
4. Trinidad
5. Margarita
6. Cubagua, &c.

DUTCH ISLANDS.

1. Part of St. Martin's Isle
2. Eustatius
3. Aves
4. Buenayres
5. Curaçoa
6. Aruba

FRENCH Islands.

1. Miquelon
2. St. Pierre
3. Part of St. Martin's Isle
4. St. Bartholomew
5. Martinico
6. Guadaloupe
7. Desiada
8. Mariegalante
9. St. Lucia
10. Part of St. Domingo

DANISH Islands.

1. St. Thomas
2. Santa Cruz

SOUTH AMERICA.

FRENCH. Part of the Province of Guiana, Cayenne, &c.

SPANISH.
1. Terra Firma
2. Country of the Amazons
3. Peru
4. Chili
5. Terra Magellanica
6. Paraguay
7. Tucuman

DUTCH. Part of Guiana, Surinam, &c.

PORTUGUESE.
- Brasil, and many Islands on the Coast
- Part of Guiana

The Empire of ASSYRIA, under Ninus and Semiramis, about 2200 before J. C., comprehended

Asia Minor
Colchis
Assyria
Media Chaldea
Egypt.

The Empire of ASSYRIA, as divided about 820 before J. C., formed three kingdoms,

Media	
Babylo-Chaldea	Syria Chaldea
Lydia	All Asia Minor.

The Empire of the PERSIANS, under Darius Hystaspes, 522 before J. C., comprehended

Persis
Susiana
Chaldea
Assyria
Media
Bactriana
Armenia
Asia
Parthia
Iberia
Albania
Colchis
Egypt
Part of Ethiopia
Part of Scythia.

The Empire of ALEXANDER the GREAT, 330 before J. C., consisted of,

1. All Macedonia and Greece, excepting Peloponnesus
2. All the Persian Empire, as above described
3. India to the banks of the Indus on the east, and Iaxartes or Tanais on the north.

The Empire of ALEXANDER was thus divided, 306 before J.C., between Ptolemy, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus,

Empire of Ptolemy	Egypt Libya Arabia Cœlosyria Palestine
Empire of Cassander	Macedonia Greece
Empire of Lysimachus	Thrace Bithynia
Empire of Seleucus	Syria, and All the rest of Alexander's empire.

The Empire of the PARTHIANS, 140 before J. C., comprehended

Parthia
Hyrcania
Media
Persis
Bactriana
Babylonia
Mesopotamia
India to the Indus.

The ROMAN Empire, under the Kings, was confined to the City of Rome, and a few miles around it.

The ROMAN Empire, at the end of the Republic, comprehended

All Italy
Great part of Gaul
Part of Britain
Africa Proper
Great part of Spain
Illyria, Istria, Liburnia, Dalmatia
Achaia
Macedonia
Dardania, Mœsia, Thracia
Pontus, Armenia
Judæa, Cilicia, Syria
Egypt.

Under the Emperors,

All Spain
The Alpes Maritimæ, Piedmont, &c.
Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Mœsia
Pontus, Armenia
Assyria
Arabia
Egypt

} were reduced into Roman provinces.

Constantius Chlorus and Galerius divided the Empire into EASTERN and WESTERN; and under Constantine each had a distinct capital or seat of Empire.

The extent of each division was fluctuating from time to time; but in general,

The WESTERN Empire comprehended
- Italy
- Illyria
- Africa
- Spain
- The Gauls
- Britain.

The EASTERN Empire comprehended
- Asia Minor
- Pontus, Armenia
- Assyria, Media, &c.
- Egypt
- Thrace
- Dacia
- Macedonia.

The Empire of CHARLEMAGNE, A. D. 800, comprehended

FRANCE.
- Neustria, comprehending Bretany, Normandy, Isle of France, Orleannois
- Austrasia, comprehending Picardy and Champagne
- Aquitania, comprehending Guienne and Gascony
- Burgundia, comprehending Burgundy, Lionnois, Languedoc, Dauphiné, Provence

Marca Hispanica, or Navarre and Catalonia
Majorca, Minorca and Ivica, Corsica
Italy, as far south as Naples
Istria, Liburnia, Dalmatia
Rhætia, Vindelica, Noricum
Germany, from the Rhine to the Oder, and the banks of the Baltic.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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ORBIS
Veteribus
NOTUS.
MARE HIRCUM
vel CRONIUM
EUROPA
ASIA
AFRICA
SCYTHIA INTRA IMAUM
SCYTHIA EXTRA IMAUM
INDIA INTRA GANGEM
INDIA EXTRA GANGEM
ARABIA
ARABIA FELIX
ARABIA PETRAEA
ARABIA DESERTA
PHAZANIA
LIBYA
MELANO GAETULI
ETHIOPIA INTERIOR
ERYTHRAEUM MARE
MARE RUBRUM
MARE CASPIUM
MARE ATLANTICUM
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
PONTUS EUXINUS
PALUS MAEOTIS
GERMANIA
GALLIA
HISPANIA
BRITANNIA
HIBERNIA
ITALIA
GRAECIA
DACIA
PANNONIA
SARMATIA
PERSIA
MESOPOTAMIA
ARMENIA
CAPPADOCIA
SYRIA
PALAESTINA
AEGYPTUS
NUBIA
NIGRITA
TAPROBANE
SERICA
SINAE
MASSAGETAE
CHORASMII
ALBANI
IBERES
SARMATAE
VENEDI
FENNI
SCANDIA
HYPERBOREI
ARIMASPI
GYMNASII ITINERARII


ITALIA
Græcia
ASIA &c.
SUEVIA
GERMANIA
VINDELICIA
HELVETIA
CATTI
QUADI
AGATHYRSI
GETÆ
GELONI
BASTARNÆ
SARMATIA
ROXOLANI
RHÆTIA
PANNONIA
MŒSIA
SORICUM
VENETIA
HISTRIA
ILLYRICUM
DACIA
PALUS MÆOTIS
CALLIA CISALPINA
GALLIA TOGATA
LIBURNIA
DALMATIA
ADRIATICUM MARE
SCYTHIA
HENIOCHI
COLCHIS
PONTUS EUXINUS
LIGURIA
TUSCIA
UMBRIA
ETRURIA
TYRRHENUM MARE
CORSICA
SABINI
LATIUM
APULIA
DARDANIA
PÆONIA
GETÆ
THRACIA
ÆMATHIA
MACEDONIA
SARDINIA
CAMPANIA
LUCANIA
BRUTTII
MYSIA
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
ARMENIA
GALATIA
PONTUS
ÆGÆUM MARE
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
SICILIA
CARIA
PISIDIA
PAMPHILIA
CILICIA
ISAURIA
MESOPOTAMIA
CYPRUS
CRETA
MARE INTERNUM
SYRIA
BABYLONIA
CHALDÆA
ARABIA DESERTA
LIBYA
ÆGYPTUS
IDUMÆA


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